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A DEFENCE OF

THE CATHOLYKE CAVSE,
CONTAYNING A TREATISE IN CON-
FUTATION OF SVNDRY VNTRVTHES AND
slanders, published by the heretykes, as wel in infamous lybels
as otherwyse, against all english Catholyks in general, & some
in particular, not only concerning matter of state, but also
matter of religion: by occasion whereof diuers poynts
of the Catholyke faith now in controuersy,
are debated and discussed.

Written by T. Fitzherbert.

WITH
AN APOLOGY, OR DEFENCE, OF HIS
INNOCENCY IN A FAYNED CONSPIRACY
against her Maiesties person, for the which one Edward Squire was wrong-
fully condemned and executed in Nouember in the yeare of our Lord
1598. wherewith the author and other Catholykes were also
falsly charged. Written by him the yeare folowing, and
not published vntil now, for the reasons declared
in the preface of this Trearyse.

Psalm. 118.

*Redime me à calumnijs hominum, vt custodiam mandata
tua.*

Redeeme me o Lord from the slanders of men, that I may
keep thy commandements.



Imprinted with licence 1602.





THE VNTRVTHES

AND SLANDERS CONCER-

ning matter of state, & some particular persons, confuted in this Treatise, and in the Apology following.



THE first, concerning the conquest of England, which O. E. in his late libels falsely chargeth the English Catholykes to seek and solicit. Treatise. Chap. 1.

1.

The second, touching the Catholyke Kinges late attempt in Ireland, which the English Catholykes, are also falsely supposed to haue procured. Treatise. Chap. 1.

2.

The third, concerning Sir VVilliam Stanley & his deliuering Da- uenter to the king Catholyke. Treatise. Chap. 1.

3.

The fourth, touching father Parsons, & his great labours in Gods Church peruersly interpreted, & shamefully slandered by the heretikes. Treatise. Chap. 2.

4.

The fifth, an impudent & malicious vntruth auouched by O. E. in his late challenge, to wit, that no Catholykes are put to death in England for religion, but for treason, and attempts against the state. Treatise. Chap. 3. Apology. Chap. 10. 22. & 23.

5.

The sixth, the improbable & absurd fixtion of Squires conspiracy against her Maiesties person imputed to father Richard Walpole of the holy Society of Iesus, as principal contriuer, & to father Creswel of the same Society, & to the author of this Treatise as abettors. Apology. Chap. 1. 2. 6. 7. 8. 9. 20. & 21.

6.

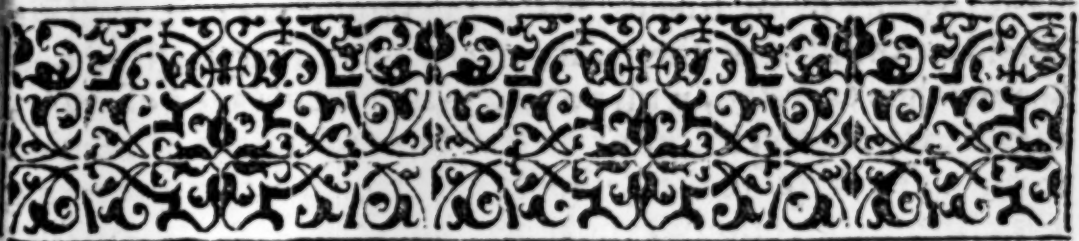
The seventh, a slanderous vntruth published as wel in these later as some former libels, concerning VVilliams, York, & Patrick Cullen, executed at London some yeares past, and falsely supposed to be employed by the English Catholykes then at Brussels against her Maiesties person. Apology. Chap. 15.

7.

8. The 8. an impertinent vnt ruth publyshed in a pamphlet concerning the fayned conspiracy of Edward Squire, wherein it is affirmed that there is great moderation, & lenity vsed in causes of religion. Apology. Chap. 22. & 23.
9. The 9. a foolish inuective of the author of the sayd pamphlet against the Iesuits. Apology. Chap. 24.
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VNTRVTHES AND SLANDERS CONCERNING MATTER OF RELIGION DISCOVERED & confuted vpon diuers occasions, in this Treatise, & the Apology following.

1. **A** False & impudent assertion of a shameles minister, who being present at the death of two martyrs at Linc. lne, in the yeare 1600. affirmed publikly that England receiued the protestants religion, when it was first conuerted to the Christian faith, vnder the Popes Eleutherius and Gregory the first. Treatise. Chap. 4. 5. & 6.
2. An other slanderous vnt ruth of the heretykes charging Catholykes with Idolatry, in the reuerend vse of holy Images. Treat. Chap. 11. & 12.
2. The lyke slanderous & impudent vnt ruth touching the Catholykes opinion of merits of woorkes, published lately in a pamphlet concerning the conuiction of my lord of Essex. Treat. Chap. 19.
4. A ridiculous miracle fayned by the author of the pamphlet aboue said, that concerned Squires fayned conspiracy. Apolog. Chap. 25.
- The table of the chapters followeth in the end of the Treatise.



THE PREFACE,

VVHEREIN THE AVTOR DECLARETH HIS INTENTION

IN THIS TREATISE, AND THE CAUSE
*Why he wrote the same, and Why the Apology concerning Edward
Squyre being written three yeres since, Was not published vn-
til now.*

IT is now more then three yeres, gentle rea- Edward
der, since that one Edward Squyre, hauing bin Squyre exe-
sometyme prisoner in Spayne, and escaping cuted for a
thence into England, was condemned and exe- fayned con-
cuted for a fayned conspiracy against her Ma- spiracy, and
iestyes person, wherto my self & some others the author
were charged to be priuy; & for as much as it of this trea-
seemed to mee that this fraudulent manner of tyse charged
our aduersaries proceeding against Catholykes, by way of slan- therewith.
ders and diffamations, authorised with shew of publik Iustice, and The reasons
continued now many yeres, did beginne to redound not only to that moued
the vnderferued disgrace, & discredit of particular men wrongfully the author
accused, but also to the dishonour of our whole cause, I thought it to vryte an
cōueniēt to write an Apology in my defēce, & to dedicate the same Apology in
to the Lords of her Maiesties priuy counsel, as wel to cleare my his ovne
self to their honours of the cryme falsly imputed vnto mee, as al- defence.
so to discouer vnto them the treacherous dealing of such as abuse
her Maiesties aūtority and theirs in this behalf, to the spilling of
much innocent blood, with no smalle blemish to her Maiesties go-
uernment, and the assured exposition of the whole state, to the
wrath of God, if it be not remedied in tyme.

This Apology being written by me in Spayne, and made ready The Apolo-
for the print (now almost 3. yeres past) it seemed good as wel to gy stayd frō
A me as the print, in

THE PREFACE.

hope of some me as to other of my friends, to stay the impression of it, vntil we
 toleration of should see the issue of the treaty of peace betwyxt England and
 Catholyke Spayne then expected, with no smalle hope conceaued of many,
 religion in that liberty of conscience, or at least some toleration of religion
 England. might ensue therof to the Catholikes of Englād, & therfore seeing
 my principal intention was no other, but with the occasion of my
 owne purgation to seek remedy of the wrongs donne vnto vs,
 by discouering to the lords of the councel the vnrchristian and per-
 nicious proceeding of our cheef persecutors, it seemed to mee
 that yf the desyred effects of toleration, and consequently our
 remedy did follow of the treaty, the labour & charges of printing
 my Apology should be needlesse.

Hope of to- And although after many moneths expectation, and the mee-
 leration fru- ting of the commissioners at Bullen, there appeared no lykely-
 strate. hood at all, eyther of peace betwyxt the two kingdomes, or tole-
 ration of Catholyke religion in Englād (in which respect it seemed
 conuenient to some that my apology should be published) yet for
 as much, as so long tyme was then ouer past, that the matter of
 Squires seemed to be forgot, and that therfore the defence of
 my innocency might eyther be to litle purpose, or at least seeme
 out of season, I resolved to suppress the same, and the rather
 for that I vnderstood that howsoever some simple men might be
 deceaued in Squires cause, yet the wysest considering the weak-
 nes, and inualydity of the proofes, and his denial of the fact at
 his death, did take it for an inuention, and a stratageme of
 state, conforme to dyuers other of like quality, which many
 wyse men amongst the protestantes themselves haue noted here-
 tofore.

Squires mat- But now comming hether to Rome, and seing the matter reui-
 ter lately re- ued and mightly vrged to the preiudice of all Catholykes, by
 uyued by 2. 2. seuerall lybels composed lately in England, the one by an here-
 lybels, and tical minister ashamed of his name, and therfore Sutly shrowding
 much vrged it vnder a fals Visar of O. E. and the other written very lately by
 against Ca a puritan, as it seemeth, calling himself Thomas Diggs, I haue
 tholyks. determined to set out my apology for the full satisfaction of all in-
 The authors different men in this poynt; wherto I am moued the rather, for
 determina- that I haue also sufficiently treated therein some other matters
 tiō to set out handled by O. E. who laboureth to proue that all the persecu-
 his Apology. tion which Catholykes haue hetherto suffred, is iustly to be ascri-
 O. E. bed to their treasonable attēpts, besydes that he is not ashamed to
 In his nevv affirm,
 challeng to
 N.D. Chap;

affirme, that none haue be put to death in all her maiestyes raigne for matter of religion, which impudent assertion of his, I haue so sufficiently confuted in my sayd apology, as no more needeth to be sayd in that matter.

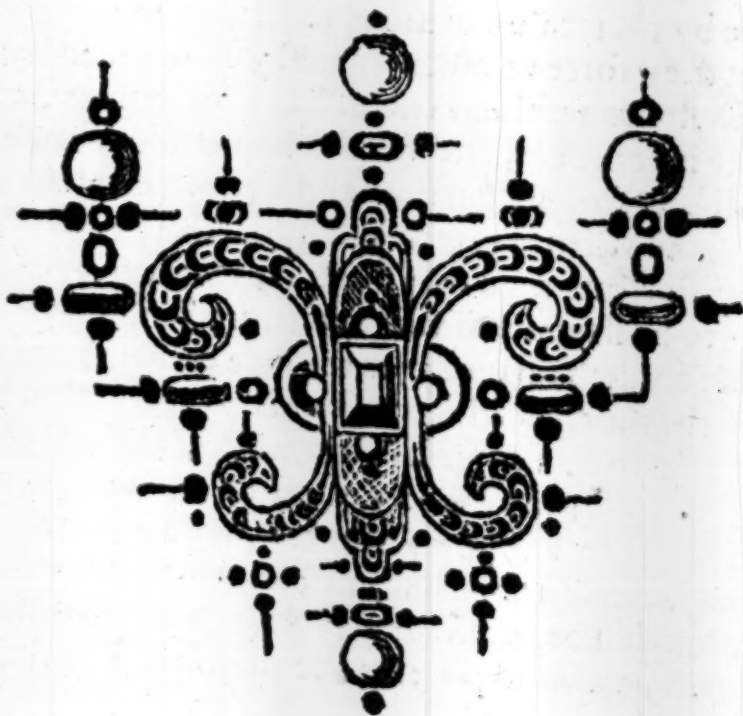
Neuertheles vpon this new occasion giuen by him, I haue thought good to prefix this treatise to thesaid Apology to giue the good reader some more particular satisfaction concerning this point, and first to answer sincerely and truly vpon my owne knowlege an other slanderous and malicious conceit of his touching the ill affection as he supposeth of diuers principal Catholykes to their country, and therefore for as much as I intend also, vpon occasions that may be offred, to debate and discusse in this treatise some pointes of Catholyke religion now in controuersy, and withal to cleare our doctrine in those pointes from certaine malicious slanders of our aduersaries, I haue thought good to entyle the whole, *A defence of the Catholyke cause*. Wherein I make no doubt but that thou wilt easely note (good reader) amongst many other thinges, the inconsideration of our aduersaries in that they are not content only to wrong vs in our goodes and persons, by extreme iniustice vsed towards vs, but also to wound vs so deeply in our fame by their calumniations and slanderous lybels, and reportes, that they force vs much against our willes to lay open to the world their shameful and vnchristian proceedings, in defence of our owne innocencie, and for the honor of our cause, which not only all lawes of God nature and nations do allow and permit, but also conscience vrgeth and byndeth vs vnto in this case. For although priuate men may somtymes with great merit suffer themselves to be slandered without contradiction, when no further detrimēt ensueth thereof, then the losse of their owne fame or their particular hurt, yet when the same is ioyned, with other mennes harme or with a publyke damage, espetially of religion, they cannot without offence to God neglect or omit their owne iust defence. Therefore I hope no man wil blame mee or other Catholykes in lyke case for offering iust purgation of our selues and our cause though it bee with the reproch of them that slander vs, *ut obstruatur os loquentium iniqua*, that the mouthes of calumniators may bee stopped.

And whereas the same may seeme to redound to some disgrace or dishonor of the state by reason of the publyke authority & presence of her maiesties seruice, wherewith our aduersaries do com-

THE PREFACE.

monly couer and colour all their malicious actions, I purpose for my parte, to vse in this my defence, such due respect to the state & to the supreme gouernours thereof (I meane her Maiestie and the honorable Lordes of her counsel) that I hope to auoyd all iust cause of offence; and giue ample testimony of the loyalty of a moste dutiful subiect discovering to her Maiestie and their honors by way of humble complaint, the great abuse offred by our aduersaries, no lesse to them, then to vs, as wil more particularly appeere in my Apologie directed and dedicated to the Lordes of the council.

AN AN-



AN ANSWER TO TWO MALITIOUS

SLANDERS CONCERNING
*the conquest of England, falsely supposed to be pretended
and solicited by the Catholykes; and touching the late
enterprise of the king of Spayne in Ireland. Also con-
cerning Sir VVilliam Stanley.*

CHAP. I.



MONGST many malicious
slanders, wherwith O. E. and
other heretyks seek to make
vs and our cause odious to all
men, one of the principalest
is, that wee desyre and con-
spyre the cōquest of our coun-
trey by the king of Spayne,
wherewith they charge not
only F. Parsons and the Ie-
suytes, but also other English

Catholykes that haue serued and serue the Catholyke
king, in which respect I cannot forbear to testify the
truth of my knowledge in this poynt, hauing had sufficiēt
meanes and occasion to vnderstand what hath ben treated
with the Catholike kings of Spayne by any of our nation
since the yeare of our Lord 1589. at what tyme I passed
from the court of France (by reason of the troubles there)
to the seruice of their Catholike Maiesties, whome I haue
serued euer since, and for some yeres together in the court

The autor
answereth
and confu-
teth this sta-
der vpon his
ovne know-
ledge.

A D E F E N C E

of Spayne, vntil now of late, that I retyred my selfe from thence to Rome, to satisfy my priuate deuotiō, by dedicating the rest of my declyning dayes, to the seruice of God in an ecclesiastical function.

The autors
protestation
vpon his cō-
science.

Therefore I here protest vpon my conscience, not only in my owne behalf, but also in the behalf of F. Parsons, and the English Catholykes that serue his Catholyke Maiesty, that our dealings haue bin so contrary to that which is imputed vnto vs, that we haue donne farre better offices for our country in this poynt, then the malice of our aduersaries suffereth them to suppose. For hauing wel considered that the breach of amity betwixt her Maiestie and the Catholike king, growing dayly by sundry acts of hostility on both parts, to an implacable quarrel, might moue him to seek the conquest of our country (wherof his puissant preparations in the yere 88. gaue no smalle suspicion to the world) and not hauing any hope to be able to diswade his Maiestie from seeking some sharp reuenge of the attempts made against him by sea and land (wherto not only reason of state, but also respect of his reputation and honour seemed to oblige him) wee determined to do our vttermost endeouour so to temper and qualify the same, as it might not turne to any conquest of our country. To which purpose sir Francis Englefield, whylst he liued, Father Parsons, Fa. Creswel, and my self, haue at dyuers tymes represented to his Ma^{tie}. of glorious memory, many important reasons to perswade him, that it was not conuenient for him to seek the conquest of England, nor probable eyther that he could conquer it, or yet if he were able to do it that he could long keep it in subiection; and this wee haue vrged so oft and with such pregnāt reasons, as wel to his Ma^{tie}. that now is, as to his father of glorious memory, that I verely beleeeue, that if they euer had any inclination or resolutiō to seek the conquest of England, wee haue donne sufficient diligence to diuert them from all cogitation therof.

The ende-
uour of Syr
Fran. Engle-
feld, F. Par-
sons, F. Cres-
wel and of
the autor to
diuert the
Catholik
king from
the conquest
of Engl.

But

But whatsoeuer may be thought of their maiesties intentions in this behalf (which is not my intention here to defend nor treat of, but to signify what hath ben our treaties or dealings with them) sure I am, that their Ma^{ties}. haue vpo dyuers occasions assured vs, that their meaning was no other, but only to seek reparation of wrongs done vnto them, with the aduancement of Catholyke religion, howsoeuer the quarrel should end, eyther by extremity of warre, or composition of peace, for though the prosecution of the warre should proue more prosperous vnto them then wee imagined it could do, yea and that the crowne of England might therby fall to their disposition, yet they affirmed that theyr intentiō was no other, then to restore and assure Catholyke religion there, by establishing a Catholyke king, with whome they might renew, and perpetually hold the ancient leagues so long continued in tymes past betwyxt the two kingdomes of England and Castile to the mutual benefit of both. And if it should so fall out that they should grow to treatyes, of peace (which was most lykely would be the conclusion of this warre, sooner or later) they promised to make instance to her Ma^{iestie} eyther for liberty of cōsciēce for Catholikes, or at least for relaxatiō of penal lawes & ease of the present persecutiō.

The Catholyk kings answer concerning his intention.

Restitution of Catholyk religion in England.

Ease of persecution by treaty of peace.

Now then; this being the resolution of their maiesties (as they signified vnto vs) consistin on two poynts, the one, no doubt in their owne opinions vncertayne, and in ours altogether vnprobable, if not vnpossible (as before I haue declared) and the other, most lykely in tyme to ensue, especially considering the frequent ouertures these later yeres to a treaty of peace, and the continual reports of her Ma^{iesties} propension, nor only therto, but also to giue some toleration to Catholikes; any indifferent man may iudge, which of these two poynts wee were more lyke to expect and solicit, though wee should be as if affected and vnnatural to our country, as our aduersaries imagine, who measuring our charity and zeale in religion, by their

The reasons why the Catholyks rather expected remedy by peace then by vvaire.

Frequent ouertures to treaty of peace these later yeres. Impossibilitie of conquest.

Her maiesties propensio to peace, and so

A D E F E N C E

gene tolera-
tion to Ca-
holyks.
The heretyks
measure Ca-
holyks by
themselues.
The charity
of Catholyks
towards
their ene-
mies.

their owne fury, and malice against vs, persuaue themsel-
ues, that because they would if they were in our case,
wish and procure by all meanes possible our vtter ouer-
throw & ruin, wee therefore do the lyke by them; where-
as wee following the doctrine and example of our Sa-
uiour and his saynts, in forgeuing our enemies, and harte-
ly wishing the conuersion of sinners, do dayly and instant-
ly pray to almighty God for them, that it may please him
of his infinit mercy to forgiue and illuminate them.

The Catho-
lyks desyre
restitution
of religiō by
sweet mea-
ures.

And although we desyre nothing more in our coun-
trei, then the extirpation of heresy and the restitution of
the Catholyk fayth, yet wee wish that it may please God
to woork it by such sweet meanes, that not only our mo-
narky may stil retayne the former liberty, dignity and ho-
nour that heatherto it hath had, but also that no mannes
finger may so much as ake for thesame;

The erectiō
of Semina-
ryes tendeth
not to force
of armes.

And whosoever doth note and regard with an indiffe-
rent eye, the proceeding of such Catholykes as haue la-
boured most in our cause, and especially of him whome
our enemies do moste maligne, and calūniate at this
day (I meane the proceeding of father Parsons in the
erection and careful mayntenance of Seminaries) & doth
further consider the fruits therof, and the progresse of
Catholike religion in England of late yeres, he can neither
think, that the fathers intentions tend to force of armes or
violence of cōquest, nor yet that our cause is in such despe-
rat tearmes, that wee neede to vse the swoord seing the
force of the woord, and apostolical preaching woorketh
so good effect, that wee may wel hope, that heresy de-
caying dayly as it doth, wil fall of it self within a whyle,
and that in the meane tyme, our wyse gouernours noting
the special woork & hand of God therin, & how litle hu-
main policy or rigour preuayleth against true religion, wil
not only moderate the rigorous cours hetherto held with
Catholikes, but also willingly receaue the light of truth, for
the which wee dayly pray to almighty God, & dayly wil.

This

This then is the conquest that wee desyre and expect in England, to wit, a conquest of soules to God, with the suppression of heresy, & iniquity, to the end, that the force of truth and piety may so captivate and subdue the harts of all our countrymen, that they may be freed from the bondage of the deuill, wherein they liue, and that the Catholyke Church and our country withall may flourish, in the old manner, to the glory of God, & saluation of infinit soules that dayly perish, and thus much for this poynt.

Now forasmuch as I vnderstand that rumours are spread abroad and a conceyt or suspition bred thereby, in the heades of many, that the english Catholykes haue also solicited the Catholyke king to the late enterpryse of Ireland, I think good also to say somewhat concerning that point, that I verely think no English Catholyke was acquainted therewith otherwise then by comō fame or opinion, seeing that neither F. Creswel nor my self (both residing at the same tyme in the courte of Spaine) nor Sir William Stanley who was also come thether vpon occasion of busynes, were made priuy thereof, which I ascribe partly to the prudent manner of proceeding of those councelers, who neuer impart any matter of impottance to any whosoever, except to such, as are necessarily to be employed therin; & partly to the circumspection that the Irish vse in their treaties in that court, who considering that their affayres, do no way pertain to vs, are wont not only curiously to conceale thesame from vs, but also to desyre the Kings ministers not to communicate them with vs.

Of which smalle correspondence betwixt vs and them in matters that concerne their country, there may now be sufficient testimony taken of Hugh Buy, who hauing ben one of the most principal agents for O Neal & Odone in the court of Spayne, and most grateful there (as appeared by the reward giuen him at his departure thens) passed neuerthelesse shortly after his returne to Ireland to the seruice of her Ma^{ty} and therefore may testify, if he be demaunded,

What conquest the Catholykes desyre in England.

Neyther F. Pars. at Rome nor any Englishman in Spayne made priuy thereto.

The prudent manner of proceeding of the counsell of Spayne.

The circumspection of the Irish.

VVitness may be taken of Hugh Buy agent of late for Odone in Spayne, and now in her maiesties seruice.

ded, whether he treated with any Englishman in Spayne, or was willing wee should be trusted with his attayres, sure I am, & I think he wil witnes it, that during the tyme of his negotiatiō there, which was some moneths, we neuer conferred togeather, nor so much as saluted one another.

And verily for our further purgation of all suspition in this matter, I may wel say, that if we had ben as badly affected in that cause as is conceaued, and had ben consulted withall, or list to haue intruded our selues to speak our

Not lykly
that Syr VVil-
liam Stanley
could ap-
proue the
plot that vvas
executed.

The ridicu-
lous folly of
a lybeller, in
objecting to
sir VWilliam
Stanley his
deliuering of
Deuenter to
the true
ovvner.

Syr VWilliam's
generosity &
sincerity in
sending Da-
uenter.

opinions, wee could neuer haue aproued the plot that was executed, which any man may belecue at least of S^r. William Stanley, as wel for the particular experience he hath of Ireland, and Irish warres, as also for his wisdome, & exact skil in military discipline, and all martiall affayres, wherin, as it is wel knowne, he is inferior to few men liuing, & seing the occasion is offred to speak of him, I wil ad a woord or two cōcerning him, & his deliuering Dauēter to the Catholyke king, for that thesame is opprobriously carped at in a late pamphlet of a puritan caulng himself Thomas Digges, who as it seemeth hath so litle cōscience and knowledge of a Christian mannes obligation, that he cannot distinguish betwixt trechery and discharge of duty, it beeing euidēt in conscience, and true diuinity, that Sir William was bound vnder payne of damnable sinne, to deliuer it to the King who was the true owner therof, & from whome it was wrongfully detayned by his rebels; besydes that, his manner of doing it was such as argueth no lesse his generosity, then his sincerytie, seeing he made no composition for money or other reward, as many others in lyke occasions haue donne, but rendred it simply without all respect of lucre and gayne, for the only discharge of his conscience, being then at liberty to serue where he would, to which purpose my Lord of Leister his general, had giuen him an ample passport, which he hath yet to shew.

But herein I meane not further to enlarge my self, seeing
my late

my late Lord Cardinal of happy memorie sufficiently defended and iustified S^r. Williams action in this behalf with a learned and graue treatise of his, at the same tyme, only I wil say of his person for the particular knowlege I haue of him, that the honorable cours of lyf he hath led euer since hee became a Catholyke, & seruant to the king, doth make him no lesse recomendable for true Christian pietie and vertue then for wisdom & valour, in so much that hee is woorthely held of all strangers for the honor of our nation, and the true mirour of a Christian soldier, and as for his affection to his country I do protest I am wel assured, that no man wysheth more honor & happiness thereto or is more alienat from all desyre of conquest thereof then hee, though our aduersaries wil nedes imagine otherwise of him, and all others that either serue the Catholyke king or receaue any benefit of him, wherby thou maist perceaue (good reader) how lamentable our case is, seeing that wee are neither suffred to enioy the comfort & benefit of our religion country and freindes at home, nor yet permitted without suspicion and slander of ill affection to the state, to sustaine our lyues abroad with the liberalitie of him that only hath the meanes & the wil withal, to relieue vs, as hee releueth & entertaineth in lyke sorte no small number of strangers of all nations, without any bad constructions made of him, or them for the same. But whether it be reason that to auoyd the vncharitable conceyts of our aduersaries & to satisfy their desire of our ruyn, wee suffer our selues to perish rather the to receaue relief of the Catholyke king, I leaue it to the iudgmēt of any indifferēt & vnpassionate man and so wil proceed to say somewhat in particular of F. Parsons against whome O. E. doth spit forth or rather vomit so much venim and poyson, as he sheweth euidētly what spirit possesseth him, & giueth notable testimony to F. P. his rare vertues, & great merits.

A D E F E N C E
C O N C E R N I N G F A T H E R

*Parsons in particular, and that the extreame
malice that the heretykes beare him, is
an euident argument of his
great vertue.*

C H A P. I I.

The hatred
of heretykes,
is a notable
testimony of
F. Parsons his
great vertue.

The greatest
saynts of God
alwayes ca-
lumniated.

As the
church was
planted so it
must be re-
stored.

Ioan. 7 & 10.
Luc. 21.

Act. 6. 14. 17.
21. 24. 23.

Gods seruants
so cunningly
calumniated
by euil men,
that good
men some-
times held
them su-
spected.

WERE it possible that father Parsons should be so
extreamly maligned, hated and calumniated, as he
is, by heretykes, yf he were not a great seruant of God
and guyded by his spirit? for was there euer any great
saynt in Gods Church who laboured more then others,
eyther to confound heresy, or to reforme corrupt man-
ners, that felt not in his fame the cruel sting of the slan-
derous tongues of heretykes, and of other instruments
of the deuil? for as the Church was planted so it must be
restored; and therefore as the scriptures do signify; the per-
secution that our Sauour him self, and all his Apostles and
disciples suffered by slanderous tongues, in the fyrst planting
and buylding of the Church, so also the ecclesiastical hi-
stories do witnes the lyke of other seruants of God, who
endeuored afterwards to repayre the same, when it was
decayed in some places by heresy and sinne, and that
many of them besydes the punishmets inflicted vpon their
persons, were so craftely calumniated by heretykes, that
they sustayned much suspition and obloquy not only of
many weak and bad Catholykes, but also otherwhyles of
some good men; God suffering it for his greater glory and
their more merit, whose innocency he euer cleared in
the end, to the confusion of his enemies and theirs; A few
examples may suffice, for that the matter is cleare enough
of it self.

No man that hath red the ecclesiastical histories can
be ignorant of the continual and violent persecutions that
saynt

saynt Athanasius suffered in this kynd, who being the cheef champion of Gods Church against the Arrian heretikes, was by the falsly accused of a rape, of burning houses, of breaking chalices, of extortion, of wiche-craft, murders, yea and treasons; as wel agaynst the Catholyke Emperour Constantine the great (who by that meanes was alienated from him, and moued to banish him) as also agaynst the Arrian Emperour Constantius, to whome he therefore wrote an Apology of his innocencie.

S. Basil for his great learning & rare vertue surnamed the great; being also a notable impugner of all the heretikes of his tyme, was impugned & slandered by the with such arte and cunning, that the very monkes of his owne institution and rule were incensed against him, in so much that after he had suffered it, as he sayth, 3. yeares together, and suppressed the sorrow of his hart with silence, he was forced to write an Apology in his owne defence, as also many other famous & learned men did for him at the same tyme, and such was the diligence and craft of the heretikes, and such the credulity of many Catholykes, that he complained pitifully therof, geuing to vnderstand, that not only all his actions, but also euery word he spoke, was watched, calumniated and wrested to a wrong sence, and that he found himself in such case that he knew not who to trust.

S. Hierome one of the lights of the latin Church, & the scourge of the heretikes of his age, hauing written a notable worke against Iouinian the heretyk in defence of virginity, was slandered to haue defaced matrimony, through the subtilty of one of Iouinians sect that counterfeyted himself a Catholyke, and enuyed greatly S. Hieroms great credit, and the matter was so clamorously prosecuted against him in Rome, that many good Catholykes were alienated from him & his friends, in which respect he was fayne to wryte an Apology in defence of his book. And at another tyme being him-self in Rome, and writing against some vices

S. Athanasius
extremely cal
lumniated.

Baron anno
336. & 339.
335.

Theodor. et.
lib. 1. cap. 30
Socrat. lib. 1
cap. 21.

Epiph. hær.
68.

Athan. Apo
log. ad Con
stant.

Baron. anno
363. & 371.

S. Basil.

Basil. Ep. 73.
& epist. 79.

Basil. ad Eu
stachium
epist.

S. Hierome.

Baron. To.
anno 390.

A D E F E N C E

iror. anno
3.

ieron. epist.
ad Deme-
tia.

The good
woorks of
ood men re-
mayn hono-
rable, vvhyles
their persecu-
tors perish
with igno-
miny.

S. Chrysostome
ne so calum-
niated that
he was truly
banished by
Catholyk
bishops.

ieron. anno
307.

of the clergy though in general tearmes, he receiued such a violent impugnation and persecution of all the bad priests in the cittie, that he was forced to depart thence; which neuerthelesse, how little it impayred his credit in the end, he signified 30. yeres after in an epistle to Demetrias, wherin he maketh mention of the said treatise that caused all that broyle against him, and addeth further *quid profuit, armaſſe exercitum reclamantium, & vulnus conſcientia dolore monſtraſſe, liber manet & homines perierunt, that is to ſay, What did it auayle them, to arme an army of clamorous men againſt me, and to bewray the wound of their owne conſcience by their greef, the book is yet extant, but the men are dead and gon,* thus farre ſaint Hierome; wherby he ſignifieth, that although good men for good workes ſuffer ſomtymes great persecutions, yet the good woorkes remaine, and not only the persecution paſſeth away, but alſo the persecutors themſelues periſh and come to nought, which by the way I wiſh the heretyks Fa. Parsons aduerſaries to note; for let them rayle vpon him, ſlander him, and cry our againſt him neuer ſo much, the memory and monuments that he ſhal leaue behynd him of his great ſeruiſe to God & his Church, wil remayne honorable to all poſterity, when their clamours, and ſlanders ſhal vaniſh away lyke ſmoke, and they themſelues ſhalbe eyther cleane forgot, or els remayne ignominious for their hereſy and the persecution of him, and other good men.

S. Chrysostome Biſhop of Conſtantinople the ornament of the eaſt Church, who made cōtinual warre againſt paganiſme, hereſy & vyce, as wel by the example of his ſaintly lyfe, as by the force of his eloquence, and deuyne preaching was ſo exagitat by the calumnious, and contumelious tongues of heretykes, and all ſorts of wicked men, that he was expelled twyſe, from his biſhopryk, by Catholyke Biſhops, being falſly accuſed of treaſons and many heynous matters, and dyed at length in baniſhment; which ſhortly after God did puniſh notoriously in all his aduerſaryes, and calumniators, and in ſome of them (as Palladius noteth) by loſſe of
their

their speech & horrible paynes in their tongues, in regard, no doubt of their contumelious speeches and lianders geuen out against him, and within a few yeres after his death, his innocency was made so manifest to all men, that his memory was celebrated in the Church & he serued for a great saint of God, as he hath ben euer since. I omit to speak particularly of S. Hilary, S. Ambrose, S. Augustin * S. Gregory Nazianzen and dyuers other notable antagonists of the heretykes of their tymes, all of the notably calūniated by their aduersaries, whome I say, I wil omit for breuityes sake, & conclude with S. Ciril Bishop of Alexandria, the hammer of the Nestoriā heresy; who in his epistle to the clergy of Cōstantinople signifieth that Nestorius the heretyke, did send abroad certeyn wicked and lost companions, to defame him euery where, as now the heretykes of England deale with father Parsons whom they seek to disgrace and defame by their spyes, that they send throughout Christendome, whereof the experience hath ben seen these yeres past not only in other places, but also in the very Seminaries of his owne erectiō in Spayne, where haue ben discovered within these 2. or 3. yeres dyuers spyes sent from England, who counterfeiting great holynes and zeale in religion, endeuored nothing els, but to alienate the students from the Iesuits their superiours, and particularly from Fa. Parsons, filling their eares with such monstrous lyes, that if God of his goodnes had not sooner discovered it, one of those Seminaries had ben put in as great combustion, as was the English colledge at Rome some yeres agoe But S. Ciril who receiued lyke measure at heretikes hāds, as Fa. Parsons now doth, shal answere for both, who in certeyn letters of his to Nestorius himself saith thus. *They cast a brode against me reportes no lesse mad, then malitious some say I haue iniuriously oprest the poore and blynd; others say I drew a sword vpon my owne mother; and others, that I stole gold with the heelp of a mayd seruant; and some agayne say, that I haue ben alway suspected of such wickednes, as a mā would be loth should be found in his greatest enemy.*

But of

Baron. ann
427.

Baron. ann
369.

Idem an. 387

Aug. contra
Iulianū lib.
6 cap. 12. &
Baron. ann
426.

*Greg. Na-
zian oratio-
ne ad 150.
Episc. & in
vita sua.

Item epist. 8
editio noua

Ciril. epist. 7
& 14.

Baron. anno
429.

S. Ciril slan-
dered by me
sent abroad
of purpose to
defame him

Spyes sent
abroad to
defame F.
Parsons.

Spyes disco-
uered in the
seminaries of
Spayne.

Baron. cod.
an. & Ciryl.
epist. 8.

S. Cirils an-
swer to Nesto-
rius applyed
to F. Parl.

A D E F E N C E

But of these fellows, and such lyke I make smalle account, least I may seeme to extend the measure of my weaknes aboue my maister and lord, yea aboue all my predecessors, for whatsoeuer cours of lyfe a man holdeth; it is skant possible for him to escape the sharp teeth of malicious & wicked backbyters. But they hauing their mouths ful of slander, & malediction shal one day answere for it before the Iudge of all, and I in the meane tyme, wil discharge my part, and do that which becommeth mee, to wit, admonish thee, Nestorius, of thy duty as my brother in our lord, &c. Thus sayd S. Ciril to the heretyk Nestorius; and so wil I say in fether Parsons behalf, to the heretykes his aduersaries, to wit; that hee litle regardeth their rayling, considering he cannot look to be more free from that kynd of persecution then his maister Christ, and other seruants of God, that haue laboured in the Church before him, and that therefore leauing them to answere for it, before the iust and rigorous Iudge, he wil in the meane whyle, proceed to do his duty towards God and them, as heatherto he hath donne, repaying their malice with charity, their fury with patience, their rayling with prayers to God for them, their slanderous pamphlets and libels, with learned and godly bookes, and their employing of spyes abroad to defame him, with sending in priests from his Seminaries to conuert them, and to saue their soules, which is all the hurt he wisheth them, for all the rancour and malice they beare him, and the iniury they do him, for the which he thinketh they rather deserue pitty then hatred, for that as saynt Hierome sayth, *apud Christianos non qui patitur, sed qui facit iniuriam miser est*, that is to say, *not he which suffreth the iniury, but he which doth it is miserable.*

And now to say somewhat particularly though very breefly of his labours in Gods Church, which makes him hateful to the diuel and all heretyks; yf wee consider the same, and the fruits therof, as the soules he gayned to God whyles he was in England; the notable bookes he hath written; the foure notable Seminaries which he hath erected; (wherof 3. do stil flourish in Spayne, and Flanders, besydes

Parsons re-
payeth the
malice of his
enemies
with chari-
ty.

Hiero. epist.
77.
Miserable to
do iniury but
not to suffer
it.

Of F. Pars. his
great, & pro-
fitable la-
bours in Gods
Church.

His notable
books.
Soules gay-
ned to God
by him in
England.

besydes two residences for priests in S. Lucar, and Lisbon) the important releef of two thousand crownes rent, that he procured at one tyme for the Seminary at Doway, erected by my Lord Cardinal; the pacification of the scandalous tumults in the English Colledge at Rome, attempted by diuers in vayne, and reserued, as it should seeme, by almighty God to him, for the testimony of his wisdom and vertue; the present gouernment of the sayd Colledge in such tranquillity, vnity & loue, such aconomy & discipline, and such exercyse of all vertue and learning, that it serueth for an example & spectacle to all Rome (so that all our Seminaries which are now the honour and hope of our afflicted Church, and in tyme wilbe the bane of heresy in England, haue either ben erected, or releued and repayed, or otherwyse exceedingly benefited by him) and yf wee consider withall, the great care and paynes he hath taken in all this; the many long and tedious iourneys to strange and remote countryes; the difficulties he hath past by contradiction, and opposition somtymes of great personages; and the prudence longaminity and patience he hath shewed in all; and if wee ad therto his religious lyfe, so exemplar for all kynd of vertue, that those which maligne him most, can fynd nothing iustly to reprehend therein, and therefore to haue somewhat to say against him, are fayne either to inuēt manifest lyes, such as here I haue touched, or els to calumniate his good woorkes with vayne surmises, yncharitable suspitions, and fals interpretations, from which kynd of calumniation neither the innocency of Gods saints, nor yet the pfection of our Sauour himself could be free; lastly if with all this, wee consider concurrence and manifest assistance of almighty God to his endeouours in the progresse of Catholyke religion in England, aduanced notably as all men see, no lesse by his bookes and other labours then by his Seminaries, wee may evidently conclude three things, the first that God hauing of his infinit mercy and prouidence determined to repayre the wracked walles

4. Notable Seminaries erected, and 2. residences for priests.

2000 Crownes rent procured for the seminary of Doway.

The tumults of the English in Rome pacified.

His vvyse & exemplar gouernment of the English colledge at Rome.

All our Seminaries eyther erected, or releued, or exceedingly benefited by him.

His lyfe so religious, that his greatest enemies, can iustly reprehend nothing therein.

F. Parsons charged for lack of better matter vwith the actions of his very enemyes.

His good woorkes calumniated, & il interpreted as our Sauours vvere.

Gods manifest concurrence vwith his labours in the progres of Cathol. religiō.

A D E F E N C E

three con-
clusions
drawn of
the premisses

1.

God hath
rayled F.
Parlons for a
special instru-
ment to re-
payre his
Church in
England.

Exod. 31.
35. 36.

2.

It is not pos-
sible but that
F. parl. being
employed, by
almighty
God I halbe
impugned by
the deuil, and
all his instru-
ments.

3.

His Aposto-
lical labours
shalbe the
more glo-
rious to all
posterity for
the great co-
tradiction he
receaueth of
Gods ene-
mies.

The autor
proceedeth
to the disco-
uery of the
impudency
of O. E. affir-
ming that

of our Hierusalem, hath rayled him for a special meanes, and instrument therof, geuing him for that end, extraordinary graces and blessings, as wel of credit with Princes abroad, as also of singuler zeale, prudence, fortitude, longanimity, patience, and other vertues requisit to so heroycal and excellent a woork, and no maruel, seeing that for the buylding of his material tabernacle he bestowed vpon some of his people extraordinary gyfts of caruing, grauing, and woorking in wood or metal all kynd of woork, wherof they had no skil before.

The second cōclusion of these premisses, is, that it is not possible, but that he beeing employed by almighty God in the seruice of his Church, so particularly, and with such fruit as wee see, shalbe impugned calumniated & persecuted by Gods enemies; for the deuil seking by all meanes to ouerthrow the Church of God employeth all his instruments, and dischargeth the rage of his fury cheefly against those that are the cheef pillars and vpholders thereof.

The third & last poynt is, that yf he stil continue to the end, and cōsummate his cours, according to his beginning and proceedings hetherto, as by Gods grace he wil; he shal not only gayne an eternal crowne of glory in heauen, but also leaue to all posterity an euerlasting fame of his Apostolical labours, and much the rather, for the contradiction, hatred and persecution that he receiueth at the hands of Gods enemies, which already maketh him famous throughout Christendome, and wil euer remayn for an euident argument of his great vertue and merits.

Thus much I haue thought good to touch breefly and truly here, to serue for a counterpeyse to the multitude of malicious slanders that O. E. heapeth vpon him in his two lybels, the particular answere whereof, I leaue to one that hath vndertaken the same, meaning only for my part to examin here a litle further how truly he auoucheth, that none are put to death in England for religion, which

which besydes former examples and many reasons al-
 leaged in my Apology, almost euery mannes expe-
 rience in England may conuince for a notable vnturthe
 by the martirdome of those, which haue suffred in diuers
 parts, within these 3. yeres since the Apology was
 written.

none are put
 to death in
 Engl. for
 religion.

EXAMPLES OF DIVERS

*Catholykes executed since the Apology was written
 for the same causes that the martirs were put to
 death in the primatiue Church, and of the
 great iniustice donne to two Priests
 condemned at Lincolne by
 Indge Glanduyle.*

CHAP. III.

I Appeale to the remembrance of all those that were
 present at the arraignment of M. Rigby a lay Gentle-
 man in the yere 1600. whether there was any thing
 concerning matter of state or the least suspicion thereof
 layd to his charge, who being no way accused or called
 in question for any matter whatsoever, but comming to
 the sessions at Newgate of meere charity to excuse the
 aparance of a Catholyke gentlewoman that was sick, was
 examined of his religion, and condemned within a few
 dayes after; for being a reconcyled Catholyk, wherof
 neuertheles he might haue ben discharged yf he would
 haue consented but only to haue gon to the Church,
 which was offred him, both before the Iury gaue their
 verdir; and also after.

M. John
 Rigby exe-
 cuted in the
 yere 1600.

Further-more what matter of state was so much as ob-
 iected

M. Palafer.
M. Talbor.
M. Ithon
Norton.

M. Lyne.

M. Ithon Pi-
ulsh.
M. Mark
Barkworth.
M. Robert
Nutter.
M. Edvard
Thwing.
M. Thurstan
Hunt.

M. Middleton.
M. Harrison,
a lay man.

Catholyke
Priests tray-
tors now in
to other
port, then
were the
Christian
Priests in the
primatiue
Church.

Beda histor.
Eccles. lib. 1.

M. Alban our
first martyr,
charged with
killing a
trayterous
Priest.

M. Alban
martyred
about the
yere of our
Lord. 300.
An example
for Catho-
lyks.

icted to M. Palafer the priest, or to M. Talbot, and to M. John Norton, condemned and executed the same yere at Durham, the first only for being a priest, and the other two for hauing ben acquainted with him, & not detecting him, or to a vertuous wydow the last yere at York for harboring a priest called M. Christopher whartō, who was executed a' so with her, or to M. Lyne the last yere at London for hauing receiued priests, against whome no matter of state, but only their religion and priesthood was proued, which was also most euident in M. John Pibush, M. Mark Barkworth at London the last yere, & M. Robert Nutter, M. Edward Thwing M. Thurstan Hunt, & M. Middleton, at Lancaster, as also in the case of M. Filcock, & now this yere M. Harrison at York, all of them martyred only for beeing Catholyke Priests, and a lay man for hauing receiued the foresaid N. Harrison into his house.

Therefore can O. E. or any man be so impudent to say that these lay men & women dyed not for religion, or that the priests for whose cause they were condemned, or the other here mentioned were traytors in any other sorte or fence then were the priests of the primatiue Church, accounted in lyke manner rebels and traytors only for doing the function of Christian Catholyke Priests, as appeareth in the story of the blessed S. Alban the protomartyr of Britany, who was charged by the Iudge to haue receiued into his house & conueyghed away *rebellem and sacrilegum sacerdotem*, a trayterous and sacrilegious Priest, for that he put on the Priests apparel, and so offred himself to be taken by the searchers, that the Priest might escape; for the which, and for the constant profession of the Christian faith he receiued a glorious crowne of martyrdom; wherein may be noted by the way how it pleased almighty God of his diuine prouidence, to geue vs in our first martyr such a notable example of Christian fortitude & charity, in harboring a persecuted Priest, and sauing his lyfe with the losse of his owne, to the end that in the lyke cases,

cases, and occasions (which now dayly occur) no terrour of temporallawes, nor pretence of treasons may withhold vs from vsing the lyke charity towards the Priests of God; wherto our Sauour Christ also inuiterh and incowrageth vs with promise of great reward saying *he which receiueth a Prophet in the name of a prophet, shal haue the reward of a Prophet, and he which receiues a iust man, in the name of a iust man, shal haue the reward of a iust man.* Matth 10.

But yf we consider the proceedings of the persecutors in those dayes, wee shal fynd that the Christians were not only persecuted as traytors, and in the same manner, but also for the same poynts of religion that wee are persecuted now, wherof I wil breefly represent vnto thee (good reader) an euident exāple, to the end thou mayst the better iudge whether wee dy for religiō or no, or whether there be any difference betwyxt the martirdome of the old Christians, and of the Catholykes at this day.

Wee read in the ancient and Publyk records of the acts of the proconsuls of Africk vnder Dioclesian, and Maximian Emperours (vnder whome saynt Alban was martyred) that they made an edict wherin amongst other things they forbad vpon payne of death the blessed sacrifice of the masse which is called *Dominicum* in the sayd records, & therefore *dominicum agere* or *celebrare* is vnderstood there to celebrate masse; and if our aduersaries maruel what warrant I haue so to expound it, they shal vnderstād, that this woord Masse in English, & *Missā* in Latin, vsed by ancient counsels and Fathers aboue 1200. yeares agoe, and deriued of the hebrew woord *missah* (which signifyeth a voluntary sacrifice or oblation) hath dyuers other names in the ancient Fathers as in the greekes *liturgia tremenda misteria*, & *sacrificium tremendum*, and in the Latins *solemnia*, *ablatio per sacerdotem*, *cena Domini* and to omit diuers other more ordinarily, *Dominicum* as appeareth in saynt Cyprian, who speaking of the sacrifice offred at the altar in remembrance and representation of the passion of Christ (which wee cal the

Christians martyred in the primatiue Church by paynims, for the same points of religion, that Catholykes are persecuted now.

Baron. To. 2. anno 303. Surius. 11. Februa.

The sacrifice of the Masse forbidden vpon payne of death by Dioclesian. Concil. Roman. sub Siluestro 1. Con. Carth. 2 can. 3.

Leo Mag. Epist 81

Aug. ser. 97. de tempore. Ambros. li. 5. epist. 33.

Liturg. Dionys & Basil. & Chrysost. Tertul lib. 2. ad uxorem, li. de Castita. li. de oratione.

Cypria. 63.

Ibidem.

sacrifice of the masse) tearmeth it sometymes, *sacrificium quod Christus obtulit* sometymes *ipsum nostra redemptionis Sacramentum, &c.* sometymes only *Dominicum*, saying, *nunquid post cenam dominicum celebramus?* that is to say, *do wee offer the sacrifice of the body of our Lord, or do wee say masse after supper?* and this is euident by all his discours in that Epistle, where he treateth principally of the blessed sacrifice, and saith that Christ is *huius sacrificij autor, & doctor, the Autor, and teacher of this sacrifice*, and that the Priest representing the person of Christ doth offer *sacrificium verum & plenum, a true and full sacrifice.*

Christians
martyred
vnder Diocle-
sian for hea-
ting masse.

The answere
of the mar-
tyrs concer-
ning the ne-
cessity of
masse.

This then being presuposed, it is to be vnderstood that certayne deuout Christians in Afrik being secretly assembled at masse, were taken and brought before the proconsul *Anulinus* who examining them began with fayre woords to perswade them to haue care of their liues, and to obey the commandment of the Emperours, they answered *spem salutemq, Christianorum Dominum esse, that the masse is the hope and saluation of Christians*, and that therfore they could not forgoe it; vpon which confession they were cōdemned to death; & amōgst the rest there was one *Emritus* in whose house masse had bē celebrated, to whome the Proconsul sayd, *Was the assembly made in thy house, contrary to the commandment of the Emperours?* he answered, yea; why didst thou, sayd the Proconsul, suffer it? I could quoth he, do no lesse, for that they are my brethren; yea; but thou oughtst to haue hindred it, sayd the Proconsul; I could not sayd the other, for wee that be Christians, *sine Dominico esse non possumus*, cannot be without masse; as though, sayd the Proconsul; thou art not bound to obey the edict of the Emperours, God, sayd the martyr, is greater then the Emperours, and ought more to be obeyed, where vpon he was condemned, and executed as the rest; here now I aske our aduersaries whether these men were put to death for religion, or no, and whether it fareth not euen so with vs at this day, as then it did with them.

For

For although the masse be not now made treason but a money matter, yet by a certayne consequent, it is drawen within the compasse of treason, for it cannot be celebrated without a priest; the receiuing of whome is treason, I meane a Seminary Priest, there being now so few other in England (yfther bee any at all) that the Catholykes must eyther receiue them with daunger of their liues, or lack the necessary food of their soules, which they hold more deare then lyfe, as the old Christians also did.

To heare masse in England is treason by consequence.

But let vs compare breefly the proceedings of the persecutors in those tymes and these. In the examination of those Christians the old persecutors would not content themselues with theyr confession, that they were Christians, & so put them to death for their religion, but sought to bring them within the compasse of their statute; *We aske you not, say they, whether you bee Christians, but whether you haue hard masse contrary to the commaundment of the Emperours,* the lyke is donne now with vs, for it suffiseth not our persecutors that wee confesse our religion (as that wee are Catholykes) but they examine vs whether wee haue heard masse, whether we haue ben reconcyled by a Priest, or whether the Queene bee supreme head of the Church, and such lyke, therby to draw vs within the compasse of the lawes, that they may put vs to death vnder colour of treason.

A cōparison of the proceedings of the old persecutors, vwith those of this tyme in Engl.

Furthermore the old Christians sayd for their iust defence, that they being Christians, could not be without masse, and we now say the same, & that wee cannot forgoe absolution of our sinnes, nor other spiritual comforts to be receiued at the hands of Priests only; to this, our persecutors reply as the others did, that it is against the lawes and statutes of her Maiesty, we answered with the old Christians, *God is aboue all Kings, and his law aboue all lawes. Et oportet magis obedire Deo quam hominibus, We must rather obey God then men;* neuerthelesse we are condemned for disobedience to the lawes, as the old Christians were; and dyed they

The answer of the old martyrs conform to ours now.

Act. cap. 5.

The old martyrs were condemned for disobedience to the temporal lawes, as Catholyks are
NOVV.

Treason pretended but religion condemned as vyel in the old martyrs as in ours
NOVV.

Notable iniustice donne to M Hunt, and M. Sprat condemned at Lincolne anno 1600.

they for religion and not wee? were they martyrs and not wee? were their enemies persecuters of Gods Church & not ours? the cause is one, & the self same, the proceedings lyke, no difference in the issue; breach of lawes and treason is pretended, but religion condemned, and therefore as the whole Church hath hetherto held, and honored those old Christians for glorious martyrs, so doth it now at this day and euer wil esteeme these other for no lesse, as I haue shewed in my Apology more at large, and therefore I wil proceed to speak a woord or two of the great iniustice donne since my Apology was writtē, to two priests called *M. Hunt, and M. Sprat*, condemned, and excuted at Lincolne in the yeare 1600.

These two being taken in a search and confessing themselves only to be Catholykes, were first imprisoned, and then shortly after indited for hauing conspyred, and practised the death of her Maiesty mooued her subiects to rebellion, withdrawne them from theyr natural and due obedience, and from the religion now establisshed in England to the Roman fayth, and finally for hauing mayntayned the auctority of the Pope, of all which poynts, no one touching matter of state was proued against them, no witnesse being produced, nor so much as the least presumption of any attempt or cōspiracy against her maiestyes person or state, or that rhey had perswaded any man to the Catholyk religion, or sayd any thing in fauour of the Popes auctority more then that which they answered to the captious question of the Queenes supremacy demaunded of them there, after their apprehension; lastly, it was not so much as proued that they were Priests, which though they denied not, yet they did not confesse, but put it to tryal, vrging to haue it proued by witnesses, or other sufficient arguments; whereas there was none at all but light presumtiōs therof, as that there was found in thir males, two breuiaries (which many lay men vse as wel as Priests) and a few relicks and some holy oyle (which they might haue

haue carried for other mennes vse & not their owne) so that to conclude, of all those great treasons whereof they were indited, there was no one proued, except the matter of the Queenes supremacy, which is a meere poynt of religion, as I am sure the puritans in England, and all other heretykes abroad wil witnesse with vs, who impugne the same as well as wee; and yet neither by the verdit of the Iury nor yet by the sentence of the Iudge, were they cleared of any one point, but condemned for all, as though they had bin guilty of all, and so in truth, executed for matter of religion, though slandered with matter of state, whereby their martyrdom was far more glorious, the malice of our aduersaries more manifest, the iniury donne vnto them vnexcusable, the sinne of the Iudges, and Iury most execrable, which sufficiently appeared by the iustice of God extended vpon Iudge Glanduile who had shewed an extraordinary malice and fury agaynst them, and was therefore (as wel may bee presumed) within a few dayes after strooken by the hand of God, in such miraculous manner, as the rest may take example therby yf their harts be not indurat.

Iudge Glanduile punished exemplarily by almighty God

And besydes these late martyrs before rehearsed, M. Tichborne, M. Fr. Page, and M. R. Watkinson, were arraigned & condemned at London, for beeing made Priestes beyond the seas, and coming into England, contrary to the statute, & were executed at Tiburne the 20. of April this present yeare 1602. beeing there not suffred to declare the truth of their cause and suffrance. And this was donne euen at such tyme; as hope was both giuen and conceaued of a more mylder cours of proceeding towards Catholykes; then heretofore.

It is moste grievous to consider how M. Tichborne by one of his owne cote was betrayed, and apprehended: almighty God vouchsafe to restore to that wretched man so great grace as he fel from; in the dooing of that acte.

M. Page and M. Watkinson were apprehended in the tyme of the sessions, the one by a wicked woman; subor-

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ned

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ned to dissemble religion for such purposes: the other by one Bomer, who hauing late before playd the dissembling hypocrite & spy at Doway, returned into England there to become the disciple of his master Iudas.

At the same sessions was condemned for felony, and also executed, one Iames Ducket, a Catholyke lay man, and another lay man with him, about a treatise written by a martyr diuers yeares since, concerning the cause of Catholyke sufferers.

OF THE IMPVDENCIE OF

a minister, who being present at the death of two martyrs aforesayd, affirmed publykly that our country was conuerted by saynt Augustin the monke, to the protestants religion, by occasion whereof the truth of the poynt is evidently declared.

CHAP. III.

often the
minister.

I Can not omit to say somewhat here of the notable impudency of a foolish minister, who being present at the death of the two martyrs at Lincolne aforenamed, and hearing one of the declare vnto the people his innocēcy, protesting amongst other things that he dyed only for the profession of the Catholyke fayth, to the which our country was conuerted from paganisme, in the tyme of Pope Gregory the great, was not ashamed to say publykly that the religion now taught, & preached there, is the same wherto England was first conuerted.

And although I hold not this minister for a man of that woorth that he may merit my labour or any mans els seriously to confute his ydle babling, yet for as much as the
same

same hath bin oft published, and preached by many others, and many ignorant abused therby, and seing the narration of our first conuersion may no lesse profit and edify the vnlearned reader, with the testimony of the truth, then content and delyte him, for the pleasure of the history, I wil breefly treat, first of the cōuersion of the Saxons or English in the tyme of King Edelbert, and after of the conuersion of the Britains in the tyme of King Lucius, & evidently proue that our Catholyke faith was preached and planted in our country at both tymes, and that our Kings and country continued euer after the latter conuersion in the obedience of the Church of Rome vntil the tyme of K. Henry the eyght.

It appeareth by our chronicles, and histories, that in the yere of our Lord 582. (according to S. Bedes computation) S. Gregory furnamed the great, the first of that name, sent into England, saynt Augustin a monke with diuers others of his profession, to preach the Christian, fayth, to the English, and that they came thither, bearing a siluer crosse, for their banner, and the Image of our Lord and sauour (as saynt Bede saith) paynted in a table, and hauing leaue of King Edelbert to preach to his subiects, began first the exercyse of Christian Catholyk religion in the citty of Canterbury in an ancient Chutch which they found there dedicated to S. Martin, from the tyme that the Romans liued there, in which Church; *ipsi primo* (sayth saynt Bede) *conuenire Psal're, orare missas facere, predicare & baptizare coeperunt*, they first began to assemble themselves, to sing, to pray, to say masse, to preach, and baptise, vntil the King being conuerted they had leaue to buyld some Churches, and to make others of the temples of the Idols, which saint Gregory ordayned shuld be donne with casting holy water therin, buylding altars, and placing relikes of saynts, commaunding further that feasts should be celebrated in the dayes of the dedication of the sayd Churches, & in the natiuity of the martyrs, whose relykes should be kept there; besyds that he appoynted saynt

Bede hist.

Angl. li. 1. c.

23.

Lib. 1. ca. 26.

Ibid. ca. 29.

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Augustin to be Metropolitan of England, and sent him holy
 veileis, and vestiments for altars and Priests, and relyckes of
 the Apostels, and martyrs, and granted him the vse of the
 pal, *ad sola missarum solemnita agenda, only for the celebration of so-*
lemne masses, and further, gaue him order to ordayne 12.
 Bishops vnder himself, and to make another Metropolitan
 at Yorke, who when those parts should be cōuerted, should
 haue as many vnder him, and be himself after saynt Au-
 gustins dayes, dependant only vpon the sea Apostolyk, and
 receiue the Pal from thesame, furthermore saynt Augustin
 caused King Edelbert to buyld a Church from the ground
 in honour of the blessed Apostles S. Peter, & S. Paule, and
 a monastery not farre from Canturbury, whereof the first
 Abbot called Peter, was of so holy a lyfe that after his death,
 it was testified from heauen by a continual light that ap-
 peared ouer his tombe. Also King Edelbert caused S. Paules
 Church to be buylt in London, and another in Rochester
 dedicated to S. Andrew the Apostle.

Hereto may be added the exercise of the Popes authority,
 not only in the dayes of King Edelbert, but also after, in the
 raygne of other Christian Kings vntil the tyme that saynt
 Bede ended his history.

Pope Boniface sent the Pal to Iustus; fourth Archbishop
 of Canturbury after saynt Augustin. Honorius the Pope
 sent also the Pal to Honorius that succeded Iustus, and to
 Paulinus Archbishop of York; ordayning (at the request of
 King Edwin and his wyfe) that the longer liuer of them
 should consecrate a successor to the other that should dy first,
 to excuse so long a Iourney as to Rome.

The two Kings Oswy, and Egbert, the one of Northum-
 berland, and the other of kent, sent Wigard to Rome to
 be made Primat, when both the seas of Canturbury, and
 Yorke, were vacant; and Wigard dying there, Pope Vita-
 lianus made Theodore a grecian, primat in his steede, Wil-
 frid Byshop of Yorke being twys vniustly expelled from
 his Bishoprik appealed both tymes to Rome, first to Pope
 Agatho,

Agatho, and after to Pope Iohn, and being cleared by their sentences was restored to his Bishoprick: and heerto I wil ad a woord or two concerning the exceeding great zeale and deuotion of the Saxon Kinges to the sea Apostolyke in those dayes. King Oswy determind to goe to Rome in Pilgrimage and had donne it yf death had not preuented him. Lib. cap. 5.
King Ceadwald wēt thether to be baptyled, & dyed there. Lib. 5. cap. 7.

King Hūn his successor; after he had raygned 37. yeares Ibidem.
wēt thether also in Pilgrimage as many (sayth saynt Bede) in those dayes both of the layty and clergy, as wel women as men, were wont to doe; King Coenred did the lyke, Lib. 5. cap. 20.
& had in his company the sonne of Sigher King of the east Saxons, and both of them entred into religion in Rome about the yeare of our Lord 709. not past 22. yeares before S. Bede ended his history, which was almost 900. yeres agoe; wherto may be added out of later historiographers the lyke examples of the extraordinary deuotion and obedience of our English Kings vnto the sea Apostolyke in euery age vntil after the conquest.

King Inas shortly after S. Bedes tyme about the yeare of Polid lib. 4.
our Lord 740. went to Rome, and made his Kingdome hist. Angl.
tributary to the Pope, ordayning the Peter pence, the lyke did also afterwards Offa the King of the Mercians in the yeare of our Lord. 775.

Etheluolph King of England went to Rome in Pilgrimage about the yeare of our Lord 847. and made that part of England which his father Egbert had conquered tributary also to the Bishop of Rome.

King Edward being threatned with excommunication Polid lib. 6.
by Pope Iohn the tenth for that he was carelesse to provide the English Church of Bishops, caused Pleimund the Bishop of Canterbury to make many, and after to goe to Rome to purge him selfe of his negligence about the yeare of our Lord 920.

King Edgar obtayned of Pope Iohn the 13. with li- Ibidem.
cence, to giue certayne liuings of secular Priests to

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Monkes about the yeare of our Lord. 965.

Solid lib 7.

Canutus King of England went to Rome in Pilgrimage about the yeare of our Lord 1024.

Alfred in vita
S. Eduuardi.

S. Edward King of England hauing made a vow to goe to Rome procured the same to be commuted by Pope Leo the nyynth into the buylding of a monastery of S. Peter, he also confirmed the payment of the yearly tribute to the sea Apostolyke, about the yeare of our Lord 1060. which was not past 5. yeares before the conquest, after the which there were no lesse notable examples of this matter.

Gulielmus
Neubricē. li.
ca. 25. & 34.

King Henry the second who by Pope Adrian was first intituled Lord of Ireland sent legats to Rome to craue pardon of Pope Alexander for the murder committed by his occasion vpon saint Thomas of Canterbury, where vpon two Cardinals were sent into England, before whome the King lyke a publike penitent, & a priuat person submitted himselfe to the Ecclesiastical discipline in a publik assembly of the cleargy and nobility.

Petrus ble-
ensis epist.
44.

When King Richard the first was kept prisoner by Frederick the Emperour his mother wrote to Celestinus the Pope calling him *the successor of Peter, and the Vicar of Christ, quem Dominus constituit super gentes & regno in omni plenitudine potestatis, Whome our Lord had placed ouer nations and Kingdomes in all fulnesse of power*, and willed him to vse the spiritual sword against the Emperour, as Alexander his predecessor had donne against Frederick his Father whome he did excommunicate.

Solid vergil
lib. 25.

King Iohn being excommunicated by the Pope was not absolued before he tooke his crowne of frō his owne head, and deliuered it to Pandulfus the Popes legat, promising for himselfe and his heyres, that they should neuer receiue it afterwards but from the Bishop of Rome.

I omit others of later tyme, seing no mā I think doubteth, but that all the successors of King Iohn liued in the communion and obedience of the Roman Church, paying the old yearly

yearly tribute called the Peter pence, vntil the tyme of King Henry the 8. her maiestyes father, who being married to his brother Arthurs widdow by dispensation of the sea Apostolyke, continued many yeares after in the obedience thereof, and in defence of the authority of the sayd sea, wrote a learned book agaynst Luther, for the which; the honorable title of defender of the fayth was giuen him by Pope Leo, which tytyle her maiesty also vseth at this day, so that no man can deny that our country was conuerted by S. Gregory to the Roman fayth, or that it hath continued therein vntil K. Henries tyme; except he haue a brazen face and a seared conscience, or els be ignorant of all antiquity.

But to retorne to S. Augustin, and those first two hundred yeres comprysed in the history of S. Bede, yf wee consider the notable miracles wherewith it pleased God to confirme this our Catholyke religion in those dayes for his owne glory, and the conuersion of the panims, no man can doubt that it is the true fayth, except he be more faythlesse & incredulous then those infidels that were conuerted therby.

Saynt Bede signifieth that S. Augustin wrought so many miracles (whereof he declareth some) that S. Gregory wrote vnto him to admonish him not to be proud thereof, he also declareth very many famous miracles donne by a crosse erected by King Oswald, and after by his relickes as wel in Ireland and Germany, as England, and by the relickes of saynt Eartongatha daughter to the King of Kent, and her cosen Edelburg both virgins and nunnes, & of S. Edeldreda the Queene, that dyed a virgin in a monastery, whose body was taken vp whole & vncorrupt after many yeares, at the discouery whereof diuels were expelled, and many discaasses cured. Also he recounteth the lyke notable miracles of S. Chad, S. Curbert, S. Edelwald, and saynt Iohn a Bishop which they did whyles they were yet liuing, and others donne by holy oyle, & by the blessed sacrifice of the masse, all which for breuities sake I omit, remitting our aduersaries to the autor in the places aleaged in the margent.

Polid. lib. 27

Lib. 3. ca. 20.
quest. 10. 12.
12. 13.

Lib. 3. cap. 2

Lib. 4. ca. 10.

Lib. 5. ca. 1. 2.
3. 4. 5. 6.
lib 3. cap. 15.

A D E F E N C E
O F T H E F I R S T C O N-
*uerſion of our country whyles it was called Britany in
the tyme of King Lucius, with euident prooſes
that our Catholyke fayth was
then preached & plan-
ted there.*

C H A P. V.

BV T for as much as our country hath ben twyſe cō-
uerted from paganisme, firſt in the tyme of the Bri-
tains, and after in the tyme of the Saxons or Engliſh,
they wil ſay perhaps that although we proue, that the
ſecond tyme our Catholyke religion was planted and eſta-
bliſhed there, when many errors (as they would haue the
world to thinke) were crept into the Church, yet at the
firſt conuerſion in King Lucius dayes, their religion was
taught and deliuered to the Britains, which ſome of their
croniclors are not aſhamed to intimat to their readers, and
namely Holinſhed who (yf my memory fayle me not, for I
haue not his book here) maketh Eleutherius the Pope
write a letter to King Lucius more lyke a miniſter of En-
gland, then a Biſhop of Rome.

*Polid. lib. 2.
Platina in
Eleuther
Beda hiſt.
Angl. lib. 1.
cap. 4.*

Therefore I wil take a litle paynes to examine this
poynt, & wil make it manifeſt that our Catholyke religion
which ſaint Auguſtin planted amongſt the Engliſh, was de-
liuered 400. yeres before to King Lucius and the Britains by
Fugatius and Damianus, or as ſome ſay Donatianus, ſent
into Britany by Pope Eleutherius in the yeare of our
Lord 182.

And although no ancient historiographer or writer (for
ought I haue ſeene) do ſignify particularly, what poynts of
religion were preached to King Lucius at his conuerſion
partly for that matters of ſo great antiquity are but very
breefly

breessly and obscurely handled, and partly because in those dayes (when there was no other but our Catholyke religiō vniuersally professed, & this of the protestants not so much as dreamt of,) it was needlesse to signify the poynts or articles therof, for that it could not be immagined to be any other but the Roman fayth; yet in the discourse of the tymes and ages next ensueing the conuersion of King Lucius (whyles the fayth which he receiued remayned pure, and vncorrupt) the cleare light of truth doth sufficiently shew it selfe, through the clouds of the obscure breuitie wherewith the matters of those tymes are treated.

To this purpose it is to be vnderstood, that as our famous countryman S. Bede testifieth, the fayth preached to King Lucius and the Britains remayned in integrity and purity, vntil the tyme of the Arrians, which was for the space of almost 200. yeares, and although he signify that from that tyme forward, the people of Britany weare geuen to noueltyes, and harkened to euery new doctrine, yet it is euident in him that neyther the Arrian heresy nor yet the Pelagian afterwards, took any root there, or could infect the whole body of the Britain Church, but only troobled the peace thereof, for a short tyme, in so much, that it should seeme, the first was rooted out by the industry, of the good Pastors and Bishops of Britany, whereof some were present at the great council of Sardica held against the Arrians shortly after that of Nice (in which respect S. Hilary doth worthely prayse the Britain Bishops, for that they wholly reiected the Arrian heresy) and the later, I meane the heresy of Pelagius, which saynt Bede sayth the britains would *nullatenus suscipere*, in no sort receiue, was suppressed by S. German, and saint Lupus, two Bishops of France who at the request of the Britains came into Britany and confounded the Pelagians in open disputation; whereby the people were so incensed against the said heretykes that they could hardly hold their hands from them, and in conclusion banished those that would not yeld to the true Catholyke faith, and

Lib. 1. hist.
eccles. ca. 12

Athan. Apo.
log. 2. contra
arrianos.

Hilari epist.
ad Epistolos
&c.

Lib. 1. cap. 17

ibid. cap. 21

here vpon enſewed ſuch peace and tranquillity in the Britan Church, that for a long tyme after (as ſaynt Bede teſtifieth) the ſayth remayned there *intemerata* vncorrupt, wherby it appeareth that after the expulſion of the Pelagians (which was about the yeare of our Lord 450.) the Church of Britany reteyned the ſame ſayth that it receiued at the firſt conuerſion, and therefore yf we fynd the uſe and practiſe of our religion vntil theſe tymes it may ſerue for a teſtimony that the ſame was deliuered to King Lucius.

Cap. 7 & 8.

Beda Eccl.
hiſt. lib. 1.
cap. 17.

Fiſt we read that preſently after the perſecution of Diocleſian wherein our protomartyr ſaynt Alban with ſome others was put to death about the yeare of our Lord 286. the Chriſtians that had liued before in woods and caues, not only repayred the Churches which the perſecuters had deſtroyed, but alſo made new in honour of the martyrs, celebrated feſtiual dayes, and buylt amongſt others a moſt ſumptuous Church in honour of S. Alban, where many miracles were wount to be donne continually vntil the tyme of S. Bede (as he himſelfe witneſſeth,) & afterwards, when the Pelagian hereſy had ſomewhat infected the country, ſaynt German going thether out of France to confound the Pelagians, at the requeſt of the Britans themſelues as I haue declared before appeaſed a great ſtorme at ſea, with caſting therein a little water in the name of the Trinity) which no dout was holy water) and being arriued there, he reſtored ſight vnto a noble mans daughter applying vnto her eyes certayne relyckes which he caryed about him, &c. after hauing confuted the Pelagians, and reduced all to the purity of ſayth, (as ſaynt Bede ſayth,) meaning therby the ſayth firſt preached to King Lucius he went to the toomb of S. Alban to geue thanks to God *per ipſum* by him (ſayth ſaynt Bede) that is to ſay by his meanes or meditatiō; & cauſing the ſayd tōbe to be opened he placed very honorably therein certayne reliques of the Apoſtles, & dyuers other martyrs, & going to the place where the blood of the bleſſed martyr was ſhed he took away with him ſome of the duſt which was ſtil bloody.

Further

Furthermore it hapned after, in the tyme that the Britans kept their lent a litle before the feast of the resurrection of our Lord, that they were molested by the Picts and Saxons, whyles saynt German was yet there; and therefore they craued the help of his prayers, and direction, dispayring altogeather of theyr owne forces, and he vndertaking the conduct of them ordayned that when they should come to ioyne battayle all the army of the Britains should cry out a loud three tymes *Alleluia*, which they did, and therewith they put their enemyes to flight, and gayned a notable victory. This being donne, and the affayres of the Iland both spiritual, and temporal wel composed, saynt Bede sayth the holy Bishops had a prosperous returne, partly by their owne merits, & partly by the intercession of blessed saynt Alban, whereby he geueth to vnderstand that such was their opinion according to the great deuotion they had shewed before to the blessed martyr.

It is also to be gathered playnly out of S. Bede that there were monasteries of Monkes and religious men in Britany before this tyme, for speaking of the rebellion of Constantinus against Honorius which was in the yeare of our Lord 407. he sayth that hauing proclaymed himselfe Emperour he made his sonne Constance *Casarem ex monacho*, Caesar of a monk. Lib. I. ca. 11.

Here I wish thee to note, Good reader that saynt Bede in his breefe introduction to his Ecclesiastical history (where he intended to treat specially of the second conuersion of our country in the tyme of the Saxons) toucheth the 400. yeares before, from the tyme of King Lucius; so breiefely, that he passeth with silence about 350. yeres therof at one tyme and other, noting only some things by the way, aswel concerning the temporal, as spiritual affayres, in diuers tymes & ages to make some connexion of his history from the beginning.

Therefore I leaue it to thy consideration what testimony and euidence we should haue found of our Catholyke religion,

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ligion, yf he had treated those matters particularly, and at large, touching in the course of so few yeres as he runneth ouer, and in so few leaues, & lynes of a part only of his first book, (which is also very breefe,) wee fynd the practyse of so many poynts of our religion, testified and confirmed, as buylding of Churches in the honour of martyres, the reuerend vse of saynts relyckes, and greate miracles donne by the same, the intercession of saynts for vs, and the custome to prayse and geue God thanks by them; also monastical lyte which includeth vowes of religion and chastity, the vse of hollywater, the custome which in our Church is yet most frequent, of *Alleluya* whereby it may be gathered that the seruice of the Church (out of the which the same, no doubt was then taken) was not in the vulgar tongue, finally the keeping of lent, easter and others feastes, wherby playnly appeareth the vse & force of traditiō in the Church of God, without the testimony of expresse scripture, and all this we see was vsed in the Church of Britanny, when the sayth deliuered to King Lucius was yet in purity, which proueth evidently, that he was conuerted to the same Catholyke religion that saynt Augustine planted after-wards amongst the English Saxons, which wee that be Catholykes professe vntil this day.

T H E S A M E I S C O N - *firmed and proued out of Gildas.*

C H A P. V I.

THIS may easely be confirmed out of Gildas the britan surnamed the sage, who wrote shortly after the Saxons came into Britany almost 200. yeares before S. Bede, in whose treatyse of the distruction of Britany, and in his reprehension of the Ecclesiastical men of those

of those dayes, it is euident ynough, what religion was professed from Lucius tyme vntil his, for first speaking of the persecution vnder Dioclesian, he sayth that *electi sacerdotes gregis domini*, the chosen Priests of our Lords flock were killed, meaning such priests as did offer sacrifice vpon the altar, for so he sufficiently interpreteth him selfe, when he reprehendeth the negligēce of the Britain Priests of his dayes, whome he calleth *sacerdotes raro sacrificantes, ac raro puro corde inter altaria stantes*, Priests sacrificing sildome, and seldome comming to the Altar with a pure harte, and rearmeth the Altars *venerabiles aras* and *sacrosancta altaria*, *sedem Celestis sacrificij*, the reuerend and holly altars, and the seat of the beauenly sacrifice, and calleth that which is offred therein *sacrosancta Christi sacrificia*, the holly sacrifices of Christ, and further geueth to vnderstand that the hands of the Priestes were consecrated at those dayes, as yet they are in the Catholyke Church, when holy orders are geuen, wherby wee may playnly see that the Priests of our primatiue Church in England, and their function (consisting principally, in offring to almighty God sacrifice vpon the Altar) is all one with ours. Furthermore treating of the martirdome of S. Alban and his fellowes, he sayth that yf God had not permitted for the great sinnes of the Britains, that the barbarous nations which were entred (he meaneth the Picts and Saxons) did depriue the People of the tombes of saynt Alban, and of the other martyrs, and of the place of their martyrdomes, the same might stryke vnto them a seruor of deuotion, and deuine charity, infirmuating therby the great consolation, and spiritual benefite that the Christians were wont to receiue by the visitation of those holy places; Also he sayth, that before ful 10. yeares past after that persecution, the Christians repayed the old Churches destroyed by the persecutors, and buylt new in honour of the martyrs, and kept festiual and holy dayes, lastly he playnly signifieth that the Christians vsed in his tyme to make vowes of chastity and that their were monasteries wherin religious and monastical life was exercysed, for he maketh mention of an holy Abot called *Amphibalus*, and most

Gildas in castigatio in eccles. ordinem.

Gildas Ibid.

Et de excidio Britannia.

Ibidem.

Ibidem.

Ibidem.

bitterly reprehendeth two wicked Princes *Cuneglasus*, and *Maglocunus*, the first for marrying a widdow that had vowed perpetual chastity, and the other for that being become a monke he returned to the world and maryed, hauing a former wyfe then liuing; wherein he also geueth to vnderstād that it was not then lawful for him *post monachi votum irritum* after the breach of his monastical vow to returne to his owne wyfe, and much lesse to mary another.

Ibidem.

To this purpose also, it may be obserued in Gildas as before I noted in saynt Bede, that vntil the tyme of the Arrians there entred no infectiō of heresy into Britany, & therfory hauing signified the sincerity and zeale of the Christians after saynt Albans death, in buylding Churches of martyrs, keping feastial dayes and doing other workes of deuotion, as I declared before, he addeth, *mansit hac Christi capitis membrorum consonantia suauis donec Arriana perfidia, &c.* this sweet consonance or agreement of the members of Christ the head remayned vntil the Arrian heresy spread her poyson there; and although he insinuat, as saynt Bede also doth, that afterwards the people became new fangled, and embraced other heresy (meaning no dout the Pelagian heresy (which as I haue shewed before out of S. Bede was quickly extinguished there) yet afterwards he signifieth playnly that neither the Arrian, nor Pelagian nor any other heresy took root in Britany, and that the Churche was cleare therof after the cōming in of the Saxons, about the tyme of his byrth, which was in the yere of our Lord 594. for speaking of the tyme, and of the ouerthrow geuen by Ambrosius Aurelianus to the Saxons and Picts, and of the great slaughter of them shortly after, at blackamore in York-shire (which as Polidore supposeth is called in Gildas mons Badonicus (he sayth that the people hauing noted the punishment of God vpon them for their sinnes, and his mercy in giuing them afterwards so greate victories, *ob hoc reges, publici, priuati, sacerdotes, ecclesiastici suum quique ordinem seruauerunt*, for this cause (saith hee) the Kings, and others as wel publik, as priuat persons, Priests, and eccle-

Ibidem.

Polido. verg.
hist. Angl.
lib. 3.

Gildas de
excidio Bri-
taniz.

and ecclesiastical men did euery one their duties, and although he declare presently after that by the extreame negligence of their Kings and gouernours ecclesiastical and temporal, which immediatly succeded, greate corruption was entred at the same tyme that he wrote, yet it is euident ynough in him that it was not corruption of fayth but of manners, as pryde, ambition, dissolutiō of lyfe, drōkenesse, lying, periury, tyranny in the Kings, simony & couetousnesse in the clergy, tildome sacrifices, breach of vowes of chastity, and of monastical lyfe, profaning of altars, and such lyke, for the which he threatneth, and as it were prophesyeth, the vtter destruction of Britany, which shortly after followed; so that amongst other things which he was perswaded brought the plague of God vpon our country, we see he taxed certayne cultomes peculiar to our aduersaries, and the proper fruits of their religion tending only to the ouerthrow of ours, & therefore, it playnly appeareth that ours was then in vire, and receiued detriment by those who (though they were not protestants in profession) yet were protestants in humour and condition, I meane profaners of Altars and holy things, breakers of vowes, of chastity, and Apostatats from religious, and monastical lyfe; such as Luther and many of his followers haue ben since.

And now to come to later tymes after Gildas, yf we consider the relicks of Christian religion which saynt Augustine found in Britany, & amongst other things, the great monastery of Bangor, wherein were aboue two thousand monks, it wilbe manifest that the ancient religion of the Britains was our Catholike fayth, for although in the space of a hundreth seuenty and three yeres, that passed from the comming in of the Saxons vntil their conuersion, the Britain Church was not only much decayed, but also had receiued some asperision of erroneous and euil customes, yet in fayth and opinion they diffred not from S. Augustine, in so much that he offred to hold communion with them, if they would concurre with him in three things only, the first in
the

Bedahist.

Angl. lib. 2.

cap. 2.

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the tyme of celebrating the feast of easter, the second in the manner of administering the sacrament of Baptisme, and the third in preaching the faith to the Saxons; all which the monkes of Bangor refused, vpon no better reason, then for that S. Augustine did not ryse to them when they came to the synod, condemning him therefore to be a proud man, notwithstanding that he had restored a blynd man to sight by his prayers in the presence of all the Bishops and clergy of Britany, who vndertooke to do the lyke in confirmation of their customes, but could not performe it.

Lib. 2 cap. 2.

Therefore as saynt Bede reporteth, S. Augustine did foretel to the sayd Monkes of Bangor, that seing they would not haue peace with their brethren, they should haue warre with their enemies, and yf they would not preach vnto the English nation the way of lyfe, they should by their hands receiue reuenge of death, which after was truly fulfilled; for Edelfrid a pagan King of Northumberlād killed a thousand & two hundred Monkes of that monastery at one tyme by the iust iudgement of God (as saynt Bede sayth) for their obstinacy.

Ibidem.

Thus much for this matter, wherby thou mayst see, good reader that saynt Augustine found in wales amongst the Britains the same religion & faith in substance that he then preached to the English or Saxons, and which we Catholykes stil professe, which being considered, with that which I haue proued before concerning the continual practise therof in the primatiue Church of Britany, whyles the same was in purity and integrity, no man that hath common sence, can dout that the same faith was deliuered by Pope Eleutherius to King Lucius, and generally professed throughout Christendom at those dayes, in which respect we fynd honorable mention, and testimony of the faith of the Britains, in the Fathers both Greekes, and Latins from the tyme of their conuersion, as in Tertulian in K. Lucius tyme, and in Origen presently after, in S. Athanasius, and S. Hilarius in the tyme of the Arrians, of which two the first testi-

Tertul. li. ad.
merit. lu-
deus, Origen.
in Ezech.
hom. 4. & in
hom. 6. in iue.
Athanas. 2.

testifieth that the Bishops of Britany came to the council of Sardica, and the other commendeth the Britan Church for reiecting the Arrian heresy (as I haue notcd before) also in S. Chrysostome, and saynt Hieron who commendeth the deuotion of the Britans that came to Bethlem in pilgrimage in his dayes, about the same tyme that the Saxons entred into Britany.

Apolog.
Hilar. li
sinodis C
loft. hom
in Matth
Hieron a
marcel v
migret. a
Bethlem

**CERTAINE POINTS OF CON-
TROUERSY ARE DISCUSSED, wherby it is prooued that King
Lucius receiued our Catholyke fayth, and first
of the Popes supremacy in Eccle-
siastical causes.**

C H A P. V I I.

BV T to the end that this vndouted truth may be cleared of all dout, I wil ioyne Issue with our aduersaries, vpon some two or three poynts now in controuersy betwyxt vs, and them, and breefly proue, that the doctrin that we teach concerning the same, was publicly held for truth throughout Christendome in King Lucius dayes, and that therefore he could receiue no other then the same from the Church of Rome, and this I vnder- take the more willingly, for that albeit all matters of controuersy haue ben very learnedly and sufficiently handled, yea and whole volumes written of them, by our English Catholykes in the beginning of her maiestyes raygne, yet by reason of the strait prohibition of the sayd bookes, there are an infinit number in England, especially of the younger sort, that neuer saw the same, to whome I desyre to giue in this treatyse at least some litle tast, of the truth of our Catholyke religion, so farre as my determined breuity wil permit.

First who can with any reason deny that the Popes supremacy (the confession whereof is now made treason in England) was in King Lucius dayes acknowledged generally of all men? for what moued him being so farre from Rome, to seeke to receiue the faith of Christ from thence but that he desyred to haue it from the fountayne & head? were there not Christians at the same tyme in England, as there had ben from the tyme of Ioseph of Arimathia, by some of whome it is lyke he was conuerted, and might haue ben Baptysed? or yf there were no Christians there that might satisfy his deuotion and desyre in that behalfe, was there not at the same tyme very learned Bishops in France by whome he might haue receiued satisfaction without sending so farre as to Rome? what then moued him therto, but that he vnderstood that the admission of all Christs sheep into his fold the Church, belonged principally to the successor of S. Peter, to whome our sauiour particularly commended the feeding of his flock? which saynt Bede insinuateth sufficiently saying that King Lucius beseeched Eleutherius by his letters *that he might be made a Christian per eius mandatum, by his commandement.*

Neither can there any other probable reason be geuen why a few yeres after Donaldus King of Scots sent to Pope victor the next successor of Eleutherius to receiue of him the Christian fayth, which at the same tyme florished not only in France, as before I haue sayd, but also in England from whence he might haue had Bishops, and Priests, to instruct and baptise him and his people.

But for the more manifest proof of this poynt let vs heare what S. Ireneus (who florished at the same tyme in France) teacheth concerning the authority of the sea Apostolike gouerned then by Eleutherius, from whome K. Lucius receiued the fayth.

VWhen we shew, sayth he, the tradition of the greatest and most Auncient Church, knowne to all men, founded & constitute at Rome, by the two most glorious Apostles Peter, & Paule & that the same tradition

slide. lib. 1.
R. Angl.

Jan 21.
eda hist.
ngl.
p. 1. ca. 4.

ector Boe.
ius hist.
cor. lib. 6.

Ireneus lib. 3.
cap. 3.

tion receiued from the sayd Apostles is deriued euen to this our tyme by the succession of Bishops, We confound all those that any way eyther by an ouerweening of their owne wits, or by vayne glory, or by blyndnesse, and euil opinion are led away with fals conceyts; for euery Church, that is to say, the saythful which are euery where must needs haue recours to this Church & agree therewith propter potentiorē principalitatem, for the greater, or more mighty principality of the same, wherein the tradition of the Apostles hath ben alwayes conserued by them which are euery where abroad, and a litle after, hauing declared the succession of the Bishops of Rome from saynt Peter to Eleutherius who he sayth was the twelfth) he addeth; by this ordination and succession, the tradition which is in the Church from the Apostles, and the preaching of the truth is come euen to vs, & hec est plenissima ostēsiō & this is a most full & euident demonstration that the sayth which hath ben conserued in the Church from the Apostles, vntil now, is that one true sayth which geueth lyfe.

Thus farre S. Ireneus; out of whose words may be gathered three things very imporrant, and manifest against our aduersaries; The first, the force of tradition in the Church of God, & that the same alone being duly proued is sufficient to conuince all heretykes that teach any thing contrary therto. The second that the continual succession of the Bishops of Rome in one seat and doctrine is an infallible argument of the truth. The which also Tertulian in the same tyme not only obserued but also prescrib'd for a rule against all heretykes in his book of Prescriptions. To which purpose S. Augustin sayth, the succession of Priests from the seat of Peter the Apostle to whome our Lord recommended his sheep to be fed, holdeth me in the Catholyke Church, and in another place number the Priests, euen from the very seat of Peter, and in that order of fathers, see who succeeded one another; that is the rock, which the proud gates of hel do not overcome; Optatus Mileuitanus, in lyke sort vrgeth this succession of the Roman Bishops against the Donatists, reckoning vp all the Bishops from S. Peter to Siricius, with whome he sayth all the world did commu-

Tertul. lib. d.
prescrip.

Ang. contra
epist. Mani-
chi quam
vocat Funda-
menti.

Aug. in Psal-
mo contra
partē Donati

Optatus Mi-
leuita. lib. 2.
contra par-
menio.

A D E F E N C E

nicat, and there-vpon concludeth; *therfore yow, sayth he, that challenge to your selues a holy Church, tel vs the beginning of your chayre.*

Thus reasoned these fathers against heretykes aboue 1200. yeres ago as also did S. Ireneus before, in K. Lucius tyme, and thesame say wee now with no lesse reason against the heretykes of our tyme; we shew them our doctrine conserued in a perpetual succession of Bishops, from the Apostles vntil this day, we demaund the lyke of them, and seing they cannot shew it we conclude with S. Ireneus that they remayne confounded, and that they are to be registred in the number of those *that eyther by an ouerweening of their owne wits, or by rayne glory, or by blyndnes and passion are led away with fals conceits.*

The third poynt, that I wish to be noted in the words of S. Ireneus, is the supreme dignity of the Roman Church aboue all other, seing that he cauleth it the greatest & most ancient (not in respect of tyme, for the Churches of Hierusalem and Antioch were before it) but for authority and therfor vrgeth it as a matter of necessity, & duty, *that all other Churches whatsoeuer and all faythful people throughout the world ought to haue recours therio, and agree therwith, propter potentiorē principalitatē for the greater and more powreful principality, and authority therof,* which authority is founded vpon no other ground then vpon the institution of our Sauour himselfe who gaue the gouernment of his Church to S. Peter the Apostle, not only for him selfe but also for his successors, which. I wil prooue heare, with as conuenient breuity, as the importance of the matter wil permit.

THAT

THAT OUR SAVIOUR

made S. Peter supreme head of
his Church.

CHAP. VIII.

TH E supreme authority of S. Peter ouer the Church of God, is to be proued directly out of the holy scriptures, by many places, and arguments, but 3. shal suffice for breuityes sake.

The first place is in S. Mathew where our sauour promised to S. Peter to buyld his Church vpon him, saying *Tu es Petrus & super hanc Petram adificabo Ecclesiam meam*, that is to say *thou art Peter, or a rock, and vpon this rock I wil buyld my Church*, signifying by this allegory that he made him the foundation or head of his Church; for the head is to the body, & the gouernour to the common welth, as the foundation is to the buylding, that is to say the principal part, the stay, strength and assurance therof; and this appeareth more playnly in the Siriac tongue in which saynt Mathew wrote his gospel, where there is no difference betwyxt *Petrus & Petra*, Peter and a rook. For in steede of *thou art Peter*, &c. the Siriac hath, *thow art a rock, and vpon this rock I wil buyld my Church*. Math. 16.

For this cause (as S. Ciril, S. Chrysostome, S. Hilary and others do note) the name of S. Peter being first Simon was changed by our Sauour who sayd vnto him *tu vocaberis cephas*, thou shalt bee called Cephas, which the Euangelist expoundeth saying, *quod interpretatur petros*, which is interpreted a rock, or stone, for so signifieth *petros* in the greeke; and therefore Cirillus Bishop of Alexandria saith vpon those words, now our sauour Christ foretelleth that his name shalbe no more Simon, but *petros* that is to say a rock, signifieng apely by the very word it selfe, that he would buyld his Church vpon him as vpon a most sure rock and stone, whereto S. Hilary

^a Ciril lib. 2. cap. 2. Ioan.

^b Chrysost. in cap. 16. mat.

^c Hilary. in ca. 16. mat. leo.

epist. 89. ad epistolos.

Viennensis eccles. Am-

brof. serm de obitu Theo-

dosi in fine.

A D F E N S E

Hilary agreeth expounding the same woords and speaking to S. Peter thus O happy foundation, of the Church by imposition, of thy new name, in this respect S. Peter is called in the greeke text sometymes *κρως* by making a greek word of the Siriac; and sometymes *πeτpoc* because they are synonima, and do both of them signify a rock.

Math. 16.

Therefore I cannot omit to discover vnto thee here (good reader) a suttile shift of our aduersaries in translating those words of our sauiour, *Tues Petrus & super banc Petram*, for although they censure, and controle, all the translations that the Catholyke Church vseth, and professe to translate the scriptures immediatly out of the hebrew, yet in translating this place, they follow the latin, because the hebrew is far more cleare against them in this controuersy for the better vnderstanding whereof, it is to be considered that all the ambiguity & dout therein ryseth of the difference that may be noted in the greeke, Latin and English translations, not only of them all from the Siriac or Hebrew, but also of one from another; for that euery translator obseruing the dialect or propriety of his owne tongue, hath some variety from the rest, and the English most of all; for although in the greeke & Latin & all other languages deriued of them, the name of Peter and a rock or stone is eyther all one (as *πeτpoc* in the greeke) or els haue great affinity and a manifest allusion the one to the other, (as in Latin *Petrus* and *Petra*, in Italian *Pietro* & *Pietra* in the Spanish *Pedro* and *Piedra*, in the portugues *Pedro* & *Pedra*, and in the french, *Pierre* for both, (though ther be difference in the gender) yet in our English tongue, Peter neither signifieth a rock nor a stone, neyther yet hath any alusion, nor affinity therewith, in which respect our English translation much lesse expresseth the force and true sence of our sauiours words in the hebrew, then eyther the greeke or the Latin; of both which I wil treate a litle for the better explication of this question, and first of the greeke.

Albeit *πeτpoc* in greek is more commonly vsed for a rock then

then *πετρος* yet because *πετρος* is of the masculine gender, & hath also the same signification, yt seemed more fit to be applied to the name of a man then *πετρα*, wherypon yt followed that when not only saynt Peter was commonly cauled *Πετρος* of the greekes, (to expresse therby in their language the Syriac woord Cephass) but also many others had take vnto them that name for the honour they bore to S. Peter, the word *πετρος* came to haue two significations, the one a rock or stone, and the other the name of a man which wee cal Peter, and therefore he that translated S. Mathewes gospel into the greeke out of the Siriac or hebrew, vsed both the words *πετρος* & *πετρα* in translating, thow art a rock and vpon this rok I wil buyld my Church; for in the first place he hath *πετρος*, and in the second *πετρα* to denote in the first, as wel the trew signification of Cephass, that is to say a rock, as also the name by the which S. Peter was best knowen to the greekes, and to expresse in the later the allegory of a rock, according to the very words of our sauour, lest perhaps otherwyse the readers attending more to the name, then to the signification therof, should not perceiue the force of our sauours allegory, who to signify the strength and stabilitie of his Church gaue the name of a rock to saynt Peter, vpon whome he meant to buyld the same, and therefore, I say, the greeke translator elegantly vseth both *πετρος* and *πετρα*, explicating the first by the later, and expressing the allegory in both.

And as for the Latin translation it is manifest that it followeth the greek, and not the hebrew, nor Siriac, and that therefore, for *πετρος* it hath Petrus, partly for the allusion that Petrus hath both to *πετρος* in greeke & also to Petra in Latin (both which signify a rock) and partly for that, from the tyme that saynt Peter was knowne by the name of *πετρος* to the Romans, Petrus (which is deriued of *πετρος*, by turning os into vs, to make it a Latin word) was no lesse vsed for his name and other mens amōgst them then *Πετρος* amongst the greekes. And although now in common vse Petrus doth
signify

signify nothing els but Peter, in which respect it may seeme that the Latyn translator rather expresseth the bare name of a mā, then the true sence or signification of *πτερος* or Cephas neuerthelesse the circumstances being considered, yt is euident that Petrus or Peter in the scripture, doth not only signify the name of a man, but also a rock.

To which purpose there is to be noted a great difference in Petrus, when it is spoken of the Apostle S. Peter, & when it is spoken of any other man; as for example, Cook is a name now common to many of good cauling, though perhaps at first it grew to be a name, from some one that by reason of his office was commonly cauled Cook, and therefore though now in such as haue no such office, yt signifieth nothing but a bare name, yet in him that was first cauled so, it signified rather his office then his name; and in lyke māner, though Petrus now haue no other signification but the proper name of a man, as Thomas or Iohn and the lyke, yet in S. Peter the Apostle, who was the first that was cauled so, it signified the office and quality, which Christ gaue him when he made him a rock to buyld his Church vpon, and cauled him *Cephas* to signify the same; the which word *Cephas* is interpreted *Petrus*, in our Latin translation and Peter in English for where as the Euangelist himselfe expoundeth *Cephas* by the word *πτερος* in greeke saying, *quod interpretatur Petrus* that is to say *which is interpreted a rock*, the Latin translator saith, *quod interpretatur Petrus* *which is interpreted Peter* meaning therby also a rock, or a man that metaphorically was a rock, for other wyse he geueth not the true sence of *Cephas*, nor of *πτερος*.

Agayne in this sentence *tu es Petrus & super hanc Petram, shod art Peter and vpon this rock, &c.* these words *super hanc Petram* do playnly expound *Petrus* to signify a rock; for that the pronoun *this* can not haue so proper relation to any other word, as to the next antecedent, which is *Petrus*, so that the sence must needs be thus, *then art a rock, and vpon this rock I wil buyld my Church.*

Here

Here also may be considered the correspondencie that the words of our sauour to S. Peter, haue with S. Peters words to him, for when our sauour asked his Apostles, *quem me esse dicitis, Who say you that I am,* he asked not what they called his name, but what they sayd was his quality, & dignity; and therfore saynt Peter answered not, thou art Iesus, (which was the name that was geuen him at his circumcision) but, thou art *Messias*, that is to say, the anoynted, or as we commonly say, *Christ, the sonne of the liuing God*; which our sauour recompensed; not by telling him his name, which was Simon, but by giuing him another name, and such a one as signified the office, qualitie and dignitie that he bestowed vpon him; and therfore he sayd vnto him, thou art *Cephas*, or *Petrus*, that is to say, *a rock* or *Peter*, and vpon this rock I wil buyld my Church, which saynt Leo, expresly noteth saying in the person of Christ to S. Peter thus, *as my father hath made knowne vnto thee my diuinity euen so I make knowne to thee thy excellency, that thou art Peter that is to say a rock, &c.* and S. Hierome expounding the same words of our sauour and speaking also in his person, sayth thus, *because thou Symon hast sayd to mee thou art Christ the sonne of God, I also say to thee, not with a vayne or Idle speeche, that hath no operation or effect, but quia meum dixisse fecisse est, because my saying is a doing, or a making, therfore I say vnto thee thou art Peter (or a rock) and vpon this rock I wil buyld my Church,* thus farre S. Hierom, signifieng that Christ both made him a rock, and cauled him a rock; which yet he declareth more playnly in that which he addeth immediatly, *as Christ, sayth he, being himselfe the light granted to his disciples that they should be cauled the light of the world, ita Simoni qui credebat in Petram Christum, petri largitus est nomen, so to Simon who beleued in Christ the rock, he gaue the name of a rock* (for yf we expound not Petri, so, the similitude is to no purpose and therfore it followeth immediatly,) *and according to the metaphor of a rock it is truly sayd to him, I wil buyld my Church vpon thee* here yow see S. Hierome vnderstandeth *Petrum & Petram* that is to say

Leo Serm. 3.
in anniuers
pontificatus

Hieron. in
cap. 16.
Matth.

A D E F E N C E

Ambros. ser.
2. de sanct.

Peter & a rock to be all one; and so doth S. Ambrose expounding tu es Petrus, thou art Peter; he is cauled (saith he) a rock, because he first layd the foundation of sayth amongst the gentils, and lyke an vnmoueable stone, doth hold vp or susteyn the frame and weight of the whole Christian woork.

Basil. in ho-
mil. de pz-
nien.

This may be confirmed out of saynt Basil who sayth, Petrus dixerat tu es filius dei viui & vicissim audierat se esse Petram. Peter sayd thou art the sonne of God, and heard agayne, that he him selfe was a rock, which according to our Latin and English translation of the scripture, is not trew, if Petrus and Peter do not signify a rock, and thus wee see that Petrus being spoken in the scriptures of S. Peter, and especially in those words of our sauour, Tu es Petrus, doth signify a rock, nolesse then πέτρος in the greeke or cepha in the Hebrew, which in our Latin translatiō is interpreted Petrus, & in our English Peter. In this respect Tertulian in K. Lucius tyme cauleth

Tertul. lib. de
prescrip.

S. Peter edificanda ecclesia Petram, the rock where vpon the Church was to be buylt, & Origen in the same age (for he was borne about the tyme of King Lucius his conuersion or within fyue or six yeres after) tearmeth him magnū illud ecclesia fundamentum & Petram solidissimam super quam Christus fundauit Ecclesiam, that is to say, the great foundation of the Church, and the most solid or stedfast rock where-vpon Christ founded his Church, & S. Cypriā (who florished also within 40. or 50. yeres after the conuersion of K. Lucius) hauing rehearsed these words

Origen. ho-
mil. S. in
Exodum.

Cyprian. lib.
de vnita
Ecclesiaz.

of our sauour, thou art Peter, &c. concludeth thus super illum vnum adificat ecclesiam suam, & illi pascendas mandat oues suas that is to say, vpon him being one he buyldeth his Church, and so him he commendeth his sheep to be fed, and after declaring the cause therof, and the reason why our sauour made him cheefe, or head of his Apostles, (though they were otherwyse equal with him in honour and power of the

Cypria. lib. id.

Apostleshipe, yet sayth he, to manifest vnity he cōstruted one chayre, and so disposed by his authority that vnity should haue beginning from one, and a litle after Primatus Petro datur vt vna Ecclesia Christi, & Cathedra vna monstratur, the supremacy is geuen to Peter, that the Church

Church of Christ may be shewed to be one and one chaire, wherby
 he signifieth that our sauiour to conserue vnity, aswel
 amongst his Apostles, as also in his whole Church, and to
 auoyd the occasion of schisme, which ordinarily ryseth of
 pluralitie of heads, ordeyned and appoynted one head ouer
 all, to wit S. Peter, the which reason ys also obserued by Optat. lib. 2.
contra Pat-
menio.
 Optatus Miliuitanus, and other most learned, and auncient
 fathers, who acknowledge neuerthelesse an equalitie of
 Apostolical autoritie, in all the Apostles; which I note here
 the rather for that our aduersaries are wont to obiect the
 same agaynst the supremacy of S. Peter, as though the one
 did contradict or ouerthrowe the other, whereas they
 may learne of saynt Hierome, that *although all the Apostles re- Hieron. con-
ceiued the Keyes of the Kingdome of heauen, yea and that the strength tra. Iouinianu*
 of the Church was establisht vpon them, equally that is to say,
 aswel vpon one of them, as vpon an other, though not in
 lyke degree vpon euery one, yet sayth he, *one was chosen*
amongst twelue to the end that a head being appoynted all occasion of
schisme may be taken away, and S. Leo the great sayth, *amongst Leo epist. 8.
4. ad Anastas.
cap. 11.*
 the most blessed Apostles, there was, in similitudine honoris, discretio
 quadam potestatis, a certayne distinction or difference of power, in the
 lykenes or equalitie of honour, & although the election of them all, was
 a lyke, yet it was graunted to one *ut ceteris praemineret,* that is to say,
 that he should haue autoritie ouer the rest, whereof he yeildeth a Epist. 8. 9 ad
Episc. vien.
 reason, in an other place, to the end, sayth he, that from him (he
 meaneth S. Peter) as from a certayne head our Lord might power
 his gistes vpon the whole body; and that whosoever should be so bold
 as to depart from the solidity of Peter, he might vnderstand him selfe to
 be no way partaker of the deuine mistery vpon these reasons, I
 say & vpon the warrant of our sauiours owne woords the
 most learned fathers of the Church, both Greekes, and La-
 tins do acknowledge, the same to be buylt vpon S. Peter, & Origen. in ca.
6. ad Roma.
Athan. epist.
ad felicem.
Epiph in An-
corato Basil.
lib. 2. in eu-
nom. Greg.
 consequently teach him to be head of the Church, as of the
 Greekes, Origen, S. Athanasius, S. Epiphanius, S. Basil sur-
 named the great, S. Gregorius Nazianzen, S. Cirillus, S.
 Chrysostome, Psellus alledged by Theodoretus, and Theo-
 phila-

Nezian. in
pratio. demo
deratione
Ieruan. Ciril.
lib 2 ca. 2. in
lo. Chriſtoſt.
hom. 55 in
Matth apud
Theodore in
cantica.

Theophil in
cap. 22. Luc.
Ambroſ.
Serm 47.
Aug in Pſal.
contra par.
donati Maxi.
Serm. 1.

Concil.
Chalced.
1. Cor. 3.

Apo. ca. 21.

1. Ephes. 19.

Aug. in Pſal.
16.

philactus, and of the Latins S. Ambroſe, S. Auguſtin, Maximus, S. Leo the great, S. Hilary, and to omit dyuers others the great general council of Chalcedon held by 630. Fathers Latins, and Greekes aboue 1100. yeres agoe, in which council S. Peter is cauled *Petra & crepido Eccleſie the rock & toppe of the Church.*

Yet I think no man can be ſo ſimple as to ymagin that theſe Fathers affirming the Church to be buylt vpon S. Peter, denied our ſauour Chriſt to be the firſt, & principal foundation therof; of whome the bleſſed Apoſtle worthely ſayth, *that no man can lay any other foundation, then that which is layed already; Ieſus Chriſt;* which place, our aduerſaries are wont to obieſt againſt this our Catholyk doctrin; whereas they may learne not only in the Fathers, but alſo in the ſcriptures themſelues that there are dyuers foundations of the Church, though ſome be more principal then other, & our ſauour Chriſt the firſt and cheefe ground-work of the whole buylding; as alſo in a Kingdome, or common welth, there are diuers heads, though ſubordinate one to an other, & all ſubieſt to one head, all which may be called foundations in the polityke buylding, becauſe the ſame leaneth and reſteth vpon them, and is ſuſtained by them, though not by all alyke or in equal degree. To this purpoſe wee read in the Apocalipſe that *the wallles of the ciſty,* that is to ſay the Church, are ſayd to haue *twelue foundations,* & in them the names of the 12. Apoſtles of the lambe; and agayne in ſaynt Paule to the Ephesians, *you are,* ſayth he, *Citizens of ſaynts, & domeſticals of God, buylt vpon the foundations of the Apoſtles, and Prophets.*

Therefore S. Auguſtyn ſayth that our ſauour may as wel be cauled *fundamentum, fundamentorum,* the foundation of foundations, a *Pastor Paſtorũ,* & *Sanctus Sanctorũ,* the ſhepherd of ſheperds, or holly of hollies; the reaſon wherof S. Baſil geueth notably for the explication of this matter. Though Peter, ſayth he, *be a rock,* yet he is not a rock as Chriſt is, for Chriſt is the true ymmouable rock of himſelfe, Peter is ymmouable by Chriſt the rock,

rock, for Iesus doth communicat & imparte his dignities, not depriving himselfe of them, but retaining them himselfe, & yet bestowing them vpon others; he is the light, & yet he sayth you are the light he is the Priest & yet he maketh Priests, he is the rock, and made a rock, thus far saynt Basil. The same teacheth S. Leo very elegantly explicating the words of our sauiour. *Tu es Petrus*, and speaking in our sauiours person thus. *Thow art Peter, that is to say, although I am the inuiolable rock, the corner stone which vniteth both sydes of the buylding, & the foundation, besyds the which no mā can lay any other, yet thow art also a rock, because thow art consolidat & hardened by my strength, to the end that those things which ar proper vnto me by my owne power, may be to the cōmon with mee by participation.*

Basil. ho. de
Pnit.

Leo Serm.
in anniuers.
pontificatus
sui.

Hereby it appeareth that although our sauiour Christ be the cheefe and principal foundation, that is to say the head of his church, yet by buylding the same vpon S. Peter, he made him also the foundation or head therof, next after himselfe, and as there are dyuers other heads vnder S. Peter, who in respect of theyr subiects may be truly cauled, & are heads, and yet in respect of S. Peter are subiects, euen so, S. Peter, in respect of all the whole church, may properly be cauled, and truly is the head therof, though he be subordinat & subiect to Christ, as all the rest are both to Christ and him; and therefore S. Leo in the place aforesayd, sayth that *there ar in the people of God many priests, and many Pastors, all whome Peter doth properly gouerne though Christ do principally gouerne therein.*

Leo. Ibid.

Thus much for the first prooffe wherein I haue ben more large, then I determined, and therefore I wil be breefer in the other two.

The second place wherevpon I ground the supremacy of S. Peter, is the words of our sauiour following the former in S. Mathew videlicet. *I wil geue thee the keyes of the kingdome of heauen, and whatsoener thou shalt bynd vpon earth, it shalbe bound also in heauen, and whatsoener thou shalt loose vpon earth, it shalbe loosed also in heauen;* By the keyes is signified

Math. 16.

Apocal. 3.
by. 22.

Optat. lib. 1.
contra par-
ten.

Origen. tract.
in Matth.

Leo epist. 29.
ad Episcopos
Africanen.

Aug. tract.
24. in euan-
gel. Ioan.

preheminent power, and authority, wherevpon grew the commō custume of deliuering to princes the keyes of tow-nes, and fortresses, when the people therein yeild, and submit themselues to their absolute wil, & power; and in the scriptures, the woord *clauis* that is to say, a key is often vsed in the same sence; as in the Apocalipse, to signify the preheminent authority of our sauour it is sayd of him, *habet clauem David, he hath the key of David*, and the Prophet Isayas speaking of the supreme ecclesiastical power of a high Priest in the old law, *I wil geue*, sayth he, *the key of David vpon his shoulder*; and therefore although some of the doctors say sometymes, that all the Apostles receiued the keyes, (ha-ving respect to some effects thereof) yet it is manifest that they receiued not the same in such ample manner, and with such prerogatiue as S. Peter, to which purpose it is to be no- ted, that albeit our sauour gaue to all his Apostles, autho- rity to remit and retayne sinnes, yet he made no mention of geuing the keyes to any but to S. Peter, in which respect, Optatus Mileuitanus sayth, *solus Petrus clauis accepit, only Peter re- ceiued the keyes*; and Origen vpon the same words of our sa- uour doth note, that because it behoued that P. Seter should haue *aliquid maius* some what more then the other Apostles, therefore Christ sayd vnto him, *I wil geue thee the keyes of the kingdome of heauen*, and Origen addeth further, that there was no smalle differēce betwyxt the Apostles commission to bynd and loose, and the commission of S. Peter which he affirmeth to be more ample, because (sayth he) *non erant in tanta perfectione sicut Petrus*, they were not in such perfec- tion as Peter, and therefore S. Leo sayth, that the authority or power to bynd and loose, was geuen *Petro praeter ceteris* to Peter *aboue the rest* of the Apostles; and the reason is, for that he being their head, and they subordinat to him, he recei- ued the same for him selfe and them, and they held it as from him, & vnder him, though they had it also, by Christs commissiō as wel as hee which S. Augustin teacheth clear- ly, when he sayth, that the keyes of the kingdome of hea- uen were

uen were geuen to S. Peter, because he represented the whole church, of which representatiō he yeildeth the reason adding immediatly, *Propter apostolatus sui primatum*, or as he sayth in an other place, *propter primatum quem in discipulis habuit*, by reason of the supremacy he had ouer the rest of the Apostles geuing to vnderstand therby, that the keyes being geuen to S. Peter as head of the Apostles, and consequently as head of the Church, they were geuen also to the Apostles, and to the whole Church, for what is geuen to the king as king, the same is geuen to the common wealth, and from him or by him, as head therof, is communicated, & imparted to the whole body. For this cause S. Chrysostome treating of the promis that our sauour made to S. Peter to buyld his Church vpon him, and to geue him the keyes of the kingdome of heauen, affirmeth that he made him head or gouernour of the whole world. Thus much for the second proof.

Chrysost. ho.
ss. in Matth.

The third, and last shalbe, the commissiō and charge that our sauour gaue particularly to S. Peter to feed his sheep, wherby he made him general Pastor ouer his whole flock, whereof Eusebius Emisenus sayth thus, first Christ committed vnto him his lambs, & then his sheepe, because he made him not only a pastor or shepherd, but also the pastor of Pastors; Therefore Peter feedeth the lambs, & he feedeth the sheepe, he feedeth the young ones, & their dammes, he gouerneth the subiects, & their prelates, so that he is Pastor of all; for besydes lambs & sheepe there is nothing in the Church.

Euse. Emis.
hom. de na-
tiuit. Ioannis
euangel.

This is more euident in the Greeke wherein the gospel of S. Ihon was written, then in our latin translation, for where as we haue 3. tymes *pasce* that is to say feed, the greeke hath in the second place *ποιμαίνε* which doth not only signify to feed, but also to gouerne and rule wherby the Euangelist signified that Christ gaue to S. Peter commissiō, not only to feed his flock with preaching and teaching, but also to exercyse all pastoral authority ouer them, that is to say to rule and gouern them, in which sence the
Greeke

A D E F E N C E

Matth. 2.
Mich. 5.
Apocal. 19.
Psalm. 2.

Isay. 44.

Aug. in cap.
21. Ioan.

Theophil in
ca. 21. Ioan.

Chrysost. lib.
2. de sacer-
dotio.

Hom. 8. 7. in
Ioan.

Hom. 1. de
punit.

Leo Episc.
39 ad Episc.
copos vican-
tial.

Greeke word ποιμαίνω is often vsed in the holy Scriptures, as in S. Mathew and Micheas the Prophet, where it is sayd of Bethlem; *there shal come forth of thee a captayne that shal gouern my people Israel*, and in the Apocalipse, *he shal rule them in an yron rod*, and againe in the Psalm, *thow shalt gouerne or rule theym in a rod of yron*, in which places as also in dyuers others of the scripture to lyke purpose, the greeke hath ποιμαίνει and ποιμανεῖς and in the same sence our lord saith in the Prophet that the great Monark Cyrus should be his Pastor because he should gouern and rule his people, and Homer oftentymes cauleth king Agamemnon ποιμένα λαχον the king or Pastor of this people (for the word ποιμενεύς signifieth both) and therfore S. Augustin expounding those words *feede my sheep*, sayth that Christ recommended his sheepe to S. Peter *pascendas, id est docendas regendasque, to be fed, that is to say to be taught and gouerned*; Theophylactus also vpon the same place witnesseth that Christ gaue to S. Peter *praefecturam ouium totius mundi*, the gouernment of the sheepe of the whole world; and S. Chrysostome treating of those words of our sauiour sayth, that he would haue S. Peter to be endued with authority, and farre to excel the other Apostles, and agayne expounding the same words elsewhere, he sayth that Christ spake vnto him only, because he was the mouth & head of the Apostles, and committed vnto him *curam fratrum suorum*, the charge of his brethren, and a litle after; that Christ gaue him the charge of the whole world, which he also affirmeth in an other place of the vniuersal Church, saying, *that the supremacy and gouernment of the Church throughout the whole world was geuen him by Christ*.

I wil conclude with S. Leo, *whereas, saith he, the power of bynding and loosing was geuen to Peter aboue the rest of the Apostles; the care & charge of feeding the sheepe of Christ was more specially committed to him; to Whome whosoever shal thinck the principality or supremacy is to be denied, he cannot by any meanes diminish his dignity, but being puffed vp with the spirit of his owne pryde, he casts him selfe head-long to hel*.

Thus

Thus thow seest, good reader, that our doctrine of the supremacy of S. Peter, is no novelty of our invention, but the vniform and constant opinion, of the most learned and ancient Fathers of the Church grounded vpon the scriptures, in which respect we fynd in all the sayd ancient Doctors most eminent and excellent tytles of superioritie, and prerogative attributed to S. Peter, who in S. Hilary is cauled *the blessed porter of heauen*, in S. Augustin *the first or cheef of the Apostles* in Eusebius *the greatest of the Apostles*, and *maister of the Warfare of God*, in Epiphanius *the captayn of the Disciples*, in S. Ciril *Prince and head of the Apostles*, in S. Ambrose *the Vicar that Christ left vs of his loue*, and to omit others for breuityes sake, in S. Chrysostome, *the toppe or head of the congregation of the Apostles*, **an vnconsumable rock, the vnmoueable top of the buylding*, and lastly *†the pastor and head of the Church*.

Hilar. in ca.
16. Matth.

Aug. tract.
56. in Ioan.

Euseb lib. 2
hist. cap. 14.

Epipha. ha-
retic. 51.

Ciril. lib. 12
in Io. ca. 64.

Ambros in
ca. vltima
Lucæ.

Chrysost. ho-
87. in Ioan.

* Hom. 9.
de pñiten.

Homil. 55. i
Matth. & ho-
87. in Ioan.

THAT THE SVCCCESSORS OF

*S. Peeter, to wit, the Bishops of Rome, succeed him
in the supremacy of the Church.*

CHAP. IX.

AN D for as much as it is euident that our sauour Christ gaue not this authority to S. Peeter for his owne particular benefit, but for the general good of his Church, nor for his owne dayes only, but during the tyme of the Church militat, to the end, that so long as their should be any sheep in his fold, so long ther should be an vniuersal Pastor to feed and gouerne them, and that his Church which is a visible body, might haue continually a visible head, no lesse now in the new law, the heretofore in the old, which was a figure of the new, and had a continual succession of Bishops from Aaron, therefore I say, all the ancient fathers worthely acknowledged this our sauours institution, and this authority of an vniuersal

H

Pastor,

Christi li. 2.
e sacerd.

pist. ad Eu-
ch.

eo mag. ser.
in anni.
sum.

Concil. chal-
ced. act.

Pastor, not only in S. Peter but also in his successors, where vpon S. Christostome saith that Christ committed the care of his sheep, *tum Petro, tum Petri successoribus* both to Peeter, and to Peeters successors, and Petrus Bishop of Rauena in his epistle to Eutyches, blessed Peeter sayth he, *lives & gouerns stil in his owne seat*, and Leo magnus affirmeth that Peeter continueth, and liueth, in his successors, and therefore the great council of Chalcedon abouesayd hauing heard the epistle of the sayd Leo condemning the heresy of Eutyches sayd *Petrus per Leonem locutus est, Peter hath spoken by the mouth of Leo*.

Cypri epist.
15.

In this respect also the blessed martyr S. Cyprian (who as I sayd before wrote soone after the conuersion of K. Lucius) cauleth the Roman Church *Cathedra Petri, ecclesiam principale, vnde vnitas sacerdotalis exorta est*, the chayre of Peeter, the principal or cheef Church from whence springeth all Priestly vnity, signifieng therby that as the vnity of the natural body consisteth in that dyuers members being combyned vnder one head, do all receiue from the same the influence of one lyfe, so also the vnity of the mystical body of Christ consisteth, in that diuers Churches being conioyned, vnder one head, which is the Roman Church, or chayre of Peter, do all receiue from the same the influence of one spirit and doctrine which he declareth playnly in his book of the vnity of the Church, where he sayth, *eue as there are many beames of the Sunne, and one light, many bowes of one tree, and yet one strength founded in one root & many brookes flowing from one fountayne, & a vnity therof conserued in the spring, euen so the Church of our Lord, casting forth her light euery where stretcheth her beames, throughout the world & yet the light is one, shee extends her bowes ouer the whole earth, & spreads her flowing riuers farre & neare, and yet there is one head, one beginning, and one fruitfull, and plensifull mother*. Thus far this famous martyr who speaking also other where of Peters chayre, declareth the miserable state of those that are deuied & seperated from the same, which I wish our aduersaryes diligently to note, *there is sayth he one God, one Christ, one Church, one chayre founded vpon Peeter by our Lords*

Lords & oords, an other Altar cannot be erected nor a new priesthood ordained whosoever gathereth any where els scattreth & it is counterfeyt, wicked, and sacrilegious, whatsoever humaine fury doth institute, & ordayne to violate the ordinance of God, and agayne to the same purpose, he which holdeth not sayth he this vnity of the Church doth he beleue that he holds the sayth of the church? he which forsakes the chayre of Peeter where vpon the church was founded, can he hope to be in the church? Finally this blessed martyr writting to S. Cornelius the Pope, calleth the Roman Church *Matricem*, & *radicem catholica Ecclesia*, the mother & root, of the Catholyke Church, which he willeth all men to acknowledge and hold most firmly, and transferring the same presently after to the person of Cornelius, he sayth that he would haue all his colleagues retayne & hold stedfastly his communion, that is as much to say, sayth he, as to hold the vnity, & charity of the Catholyke church, geuing to vnderstand that he which doth not communicate with the bishop of Rome, the chayre of Peeter, the fountayne of vnity, the root and mother of the Catholyke Church he is not a member of the same, nor gathereth with Christ but scattreth.

Cypria. li. d
vni. eccles.

Epist. ad Co
nel. 45.

Ibidem.

The very same in substance the famous Doctor S. Hierom teacheth as wel of S. Peeter, as of his chayre, and successors; of S. Peeter he sayth; that he was therefore chosen of our sauour, one only amongst twelue, that a head being appoynted all occasions of schisme & diuision might be taken away: and of his chayre, and successors, he sayth, to S. Damasus the Pope, *qui cathedra Petri iungitur, meus est*, he which is ioyned to the chayre of Peter, he is myne, and agayne to him in an other Epistle, I, sayth he, following no cheef but Christ am linked in communion with thy beatitude, that is to say with the chayre of Peter, vpon that rock the Church was buylt, whosoever eateth the lambe out of this house is profane, if any man be not in the arke of Noe he shal perish in the flud, and a litle after, I know not Vitalis, I refuse Meletius, I know not Paulinus, whosoever doth not gather with thee scattreth, he which is not of Christ is of Antichrist, thus far S. Hierome of the supremacy of Peeters chayre, and particularly of Pope Damasus, of

Hieron. ad-
uersus Io-
ninia.

Epist. 58. a
Damasum.

Epist. 57. ad
cundem.

bro. in r. whome S. Ambrose in the same tyme acknowledged no
 list. ad Ti- lesse; saying, *Ecclesia domus Dei dicitur cuius rector hodie est Da-*
 oth. ca. 3. *masus, the Church is cauled the house of God, the gouernour whereof*
 Epiph. hz- *at this day is Damasus,* with these all other Doctors of the
 tic 68. Church; Greekes and Latins agree, concerning the supre-
 Athan. 2. macy of the bishops of Rome; as ^aEpiphanius, ^bAthanasius,
 polog. & in ^cBasilus, ^dGregorius Nazianzenus, ^eChrysostomus, ^fCy-
 list ad se- rillus, ^gTheodoretus, ^hSozomenus, ⁱOptatus, ^kAmbro-
 for. sius, ^lAugustinus, ^mProsper, ⁿVictor Vricensis, ^oVincen-
 Basilus tius Lirinensis, and ^pCassiodorus, all which did wryte
 list. 52. ad aboute 1000. yeres ago and playnly acknowledged the su-
 thanaf. premacy of the bishop of Rome as appeareth in the places
 Greg. Naz. aleaged in the margent, wherto I remit our aduersaries; to
 n carmine auoyd prolixitie, concluding with the great council of
 e vita sua. Chalcedon abouesayd; wherein Pope Leo was cauled
 Chris. epist *vniversal Bishop*, dyuers tymes, besyds that in an epistle writ-
 & 2. ad In- ten to him by the whole council it is playnly signified that
 ocentium. *the Vineyard of our Lord* that is to say the Church; was com-
 Ciril. epist mitted to his charge and custody.
 o ad nestor. To returne therfore to S. Ireneus in the tyme of King
 & epist. 11. ad Lucius thou seest good reader how true is that, which he
 ler. & pop. sayth of the necessitie and obligation that all faythful peo-
 constant. & ple haue to agree with the Roman Church, *propter potentiorē*
 epist. 18. ad *principalitatem*, for the mightier, or more powerful principa-
 celestinum. litie therof, that is to say, for the supreme dignity it hath
 Theodor. in ouer all other churches, as the mother ouer her children,
 epist. ad leon. the head ouer the body, and the spring and root of vnity.

To returne therfore to S. Ireneus in the tyme of King
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 litie therof, that is to say, for the supreme dignity it hath
 ouer all other churches, as the mother ouer her children,
 the head ouer the body, and the spring and root of vnity.

THAT

Sozom. li. 3
 list. ca. 7.
 Optat. lib. 2.
 cont. parin.
 Ambros. de
 obitu satiri.
 Aug. epist.
 162. & 92 ad
 In.
 Prof. lib. de
 ingratias.
 Vict lib 2.
 de peruand.
 Vincen. in
 suo commēt.
 Cassiodo. li.
 11. Epist. 2 ad
 Ioan. Papam.
 Concil. chal.
 act. 3.
 Epist. concil.
 chalced. ad
 Leonem.
 Lib. 3. cap. 3.

THAT THE BISHOPS OF

*Rome exercysed supreme authoritie and iurisdiction
in the tyme of king Lucius.*

CHAP. X.

NOW then let vs consider how the byshops of Rome did exercyse this theyr authority before, and in the tyme of K. Lucius, and neare vnto the same, the which may appeare partly by the appellatiōs out of all parts to the sea Apostolyke, and the restitution, or deposition of bishops by the sayd sea, and partly by the decrees made by the same for the whole Church, and the censures layd vpon such as would not receiue and obey them.

Wee read in Tertulian (who liued in king Lucius tyme) that Montanus Prisca and Maximilla fals prophets in Phrygia, being excommunicat and expelled by their bishops, came to Rome to be restored by Pope Victor, whome they had almost circumtented, hauing abtayned of him letters to the churches of Asia for their restitution, which letters neuerthelesse Pope Victor reuoked by the aduise of Praxeas, who discovered to him their trechery; wherof Tertulian complaineth bitterly, being then become an obstinate Montanist, saying that otherwyse Pope Victor had restored Montanus, and geuen peace to the churches of Asia, lo then how great was the authoritie of the bishops of Rome in forayn & remote parts, by the testimony of Tertulian who was then an heretyke and a great enemy to the Roman Church.

Epiph. heres.
42.

Tertulian. lib.
aduersus
Praxeam.

S. Cyprian about 250. yeares after Christ testifyeth that Fortunatus, and Felix being deposed in Afrike by him; appealed to Pope Cornelius, and that Basilides in lyke manner, being deposed in Spayne appealed to Pope Steuen who succeeded Cornelius, and although S. Cyprian shew that Basilides being iustly condemned did vniustly appeale and

Cipr. lib. 1.
epist. 3.

Cipr. lib. 2.
epistol. 4.

deceiue the Pope by fals suggestion & that therfore his appellation could not auayle him, yet he confesseth that the Pope receiued the appellation, wherein he sayth he was not to be blamed, but Basilides for deceauing him, so that wee see the custome of appealing to the bishop of Rome out of al partes, is moit ancient, whereof I wil also alleadge some other examples of later tymes, though aboute 1000. yerres agoe.

Theodor.
hist. Eccles.
lib. 7. cap. 4.

Tripart hist.
lib. 4. cap. 15.

Epist Ioan.
Chrysost. ad
Innocent.

Liberatus in
breuiario.
cap. 12.

Theod. epist.
ad Leonem.

Greg. lib. 2.
cap. 6.

Concil. Sar-
dicens. can. 4.
& 7.

Athanasius being deposed by the Arrians in Greece, appealed vnto Iulius the first; bishop of Rome, and by him was restored 1300. yerres agoe and the ecclesiastical histories do witnesse, that not only he, but also Paulus byshop of Constantinople, Marcellus byshop of Ancira, and Asclepias byshop of Gaza, and Lucianus of Hadrianopolis were all at Rome at one tyme iniustly expelled from their bishoprikes, and that Pope Iulius *discussing the crimes objected to every one of them, tanquam omnium curam gerens propter propriam sedis dignitatem, as one that had care of them all for the dignity of his owne see, restored every one of them to their Churches, & wrote to the Byshops of the east blaming them for the wrong they had donne them, and threatning them that he would not suffer it, if they proceeded to do the lyke hereafter.*

S. Chrysostome byshop of Constantinople, appealed to Pope Innocentius the first, and Flavianus byshop of the same citty, and Theodoretus byshop of Cyrus appealed in the same age, to Pope Leo, who restored Theodoretus as testifieth the great general council of Calcedon, saying *restituit ei Episcopatum S^{inus}. Archiepiscopus Leo.* The most holy Archbishop Leo, restored to him his bishoprik. And S. Gregory the great byshop of Rome, did excommunicate a byshop of Greece called Iohn for that he had presumed to Iudge an other byshop that had appealed to the sea Apostolyke.

Lastly this custome of appealing to the Bishop of Rome was confirmed by two seuerall cannons, in the second great general council held at Sardica, in the tyme of
Athana-

Athanasius the great, whereat were present some byshops of Britany, and this shal suffice for the appellatiō of byshops to Rome, and their restitution.

Now to speak a word or two of the deposition of Byshops wee fynd an euident example therof, within 40. or 50. yeares after the cōuersion of K. Lucius, for S. Cyprian wrote to Steuen the Pope to desyre him to excomunicat & depose Marcian the Bishop of Arles in France, and to substitute an other in his place by vertue of his letters to the people there, & further desyred him to aduertise him who should succede him, that he & the Bishops of Africk might know to whome to direct their letters, so that wee see the authority and custome in the Church of Rome to depose forraine Bishops, is no new thing, nor a iurisdiction vsurped in later tymes by fauour of Christian Emperours, seing in the great persecutions in the primitiue Church, when none were more persecuted by the Emperours then the Popes them selues, (who vntil this tyme were almost all martired) they exercysed this authority, as their successors haue done euer since, indifferētly without exception vpon all Bishops whosoeuer, yea vpon the 4. principal patriarkes of Constantinople Alexandria, Antioch, and Hierusalem, in so much that Nicolaus the first Pope of that name writing to Michael Emperour of Constantinople about a 1000. yerres ago reckoneth 8. Patriarchs of that Church deposed by Bishops of Rome before his tyme, and Flauianus Patriarch of Antioch was deposed by Pope Damasus 1200. yeares ago and although the Emperour Theodosius labored to restore him yet he commaunded him to go to Rome to answer for him selfe, and both S. Chrysostome Bishop of Constantinople, and also Theophilus Bishop of Alexandria were intercessors for him to the Pope; to conclude; he could not hold his Bishoprik in peace, vntil the Pope being pacified, was content therewith, and promised to receaue his legats, & therefore Flauianus presently sent him many Byshops, and some of the cheef of the Clergy of Antioch.

Cypri lib 3.
epist. 13.

Nicol. epist.
ad Michael.

Theodoretus
lib 5. hist.
cap. 23.

Socrat. lib. 5.
hist. cap. 15.
Sozomen li.
8. cap. 3.

Theodor. lib.
5. cap. 23.

Tomo 2. com.
cil. in actis
Syxi.

Antioch. Also Pope Sixtus the 3. deposed Polichronius Bishop of Hierusalem.

I omit later examples wherof there are many, to say somewhat of the general decrees of Popes made before, or in the dayes of K. Lucius.

Tertulia lib.
de pudicitia.

Wee read in Tertullian (who as I sayd before florished in King Lucius tyme) that the Bishops of Rome made decrees agaynst the heresy of Montanus and his followers, and although Tertullian was then an egregious Montanist himselfe, & an enemy to the Roman Church (which had condemned his heresy) neuerthelesse in that which he wryteth agaynst one of the sayd edicts, he sufficiently sheweth what was the authority of the Bishops of Rome in those dayes, recyting the edict in this manner, *Pontifex Maximus, Episcopus Episcoporum dicit, &c.* that is to say, the cheef or greatest Bishop, the Bishop of Bishops doth say, &c. wherby it appeareth what was the title of the Bishop of Rome at those dayes, for although it should be true, that Tertullian being then an heretyk and condemned by the Bishop of Rome, vsed those words of *Pontifex Maximus, Episcopus Episcoporum*, ironice, yet is it manifest, that he did it eyther for that such were the tytles of the edict, (which was most probable,) or els, because he was generally so called at that tyme, by all those that held communion with him.

Platina in
vita pij. de
consecra di.
fist. 3. ca. 21.
& li. 1. concil.

But before this tyme; Pius the first Pope of that name about 160. yeres after Christ made an edict about the keeping of Easter which was after confirmed by Pope Victor, & the Churches of Asia were excommunicated by him for not receiuing the same.

But to the end good reader thou mayst the better vnderstand how this matter passed, and euidently see the supreme autoritie of the Bishops of Rome in those dayes, it is to be considered; that there hauing been from the tyme of the Apostles a different manner of keeping Easter in the Church of Rome, and the Churches of the lesser Asia (the Romans keeping it alwayes vpon the Sunday, according to the

to the tradition of the Apostles, S. Peter, and saynt Paule; & they of Asia obseruing the tyme and custome of the Iewes, pretending the example and tradition of S. Iohn the Euangelist) Pius the first of that name, Bishop of Rome, desyring to reduce all the Church to vniformity, made a decree that the feast of Easter should be celebrated only vpon Sunday, but for that the Churches of Asia made great difficulty to leaue their tradition, as wel Pius, as Anicetus, Soter, and Eleutherius forbore, (for peace and quietnesse sake) to compel them by Ecclesiastical censures to the obseruation therof; but afterwards Victor who succeeded Eleutherius, noting that not only those which inclyned to keep the ceremonies of the old law, were much confirmed therby in their opinion, but also some in Rome namely one Blastus sought to introduce that custome there, and Iudaysme withall, cauled a council of the Bishops of Italy neere adioyning, and not only caused other councils to be assembled in France, but also directed his commaundements to the Bishops of the east, to do the lyke namely to Theophilus Bishop of Cæsarea, as that S. Bede reporteth in these words, *Victor the Pope Bishop of the city of Rome dixerit auctoritatem*, that is to say directed a commaundement to Theophilus, Bishop of Cæsarea and Palastina that it should be determined how the easter should be celebrated there, where our Lord the saviour of the world conuersed. Therefore percepta auctoritate, the authority or commaundement being receiued, Theophilus assembled Bishops not only out of his owne province but also out of diuers other cuntries, and when they were come together in great numbers. Theophilus, *protulit auctoritatem ad se missam Papa Victoris*, Theophilus shewed the authority or commaundement that Pope Victor had sent him, & declared *quid sibi operis fuisset iniunctum*, what was enioyned him to do, &c. herein by the way I wish to be noted how the Bishop of Rome in those dayes (that is to say in the tyme of Lucius) exercised his authority in calling of councils, both of the Bishops of the Latin or west Church, & also of the east, seing Theophilus Bishop of Palastina assembled the prelates not only of his

Euseb. lib. 5.
cap. 24.

Tertul de
prescrip. cap.
53. & Euse-
bius hist. ec-
cles. lib. 5.
cap. 14.

Beda. de
A Equinoct.
vernali.

A D E F E N C E

owne prouince, but also of diuers other by vertue of the commission geuen him by Pope Victor.

Euseb. lib. 5.
hist. cap. 24.

But to proceed, yt being determined by all those councels that the feast of Easter should be kept on the Sunday according to the custome of the Roma Church, Victor the Pope renewed the decree of Pius his predecessor and denounced excommunication against all the Churches of Asia that would not conform themselves thereto, which though some holy and learned Bishops, & amongst other Irenæus thought to be rigorously done, and not with such consideration, as it seemed to them the peace of the Church required, yet none of them, nor any of the schismatikes themselves, took any exception to his authority, as though he had done more then he might do, which no doubt they would haue done yf he had exceeded the limits of his power therefore Eusebius sayth, that Irenæus *did admonish him that he would not cut of from the body of the whole Church, so many Churches for obseruing a tradition vsed amongst them according to an old custome,* and Nicephorus, testifieth that they aduised him *ut benignius statueret, that should determine therof with more benignity and myldnes,* wherein wee see Pope Victor's authoritie, and power to excommunicat all other Bishops; sufficiently acknowledged, though there was question of the iustnesse of the cause, and conueniency of the fact neuertheless yt appeared afterwards by the determination of the whole Church of God, yea & of the greatest part of the Asian Churches themselves, that Victor had reason in that which he did; for as Nicephorus testifieth, not only Asia did at length yeild therein, but also *vbique terrarum in orbe decretum est, it was decreed through out the world* that the feast of Easter should be celebrated vpon the Sunday, in so much that those which would not yeild thereto were held for heretykes, & cauled *quarta decimani* for so they are accounted and termed by Nicephorus saynt Augustin, Epiphanius Philastrius and the counsels of Antioch and Laodicea; and to conclude this poynt, yt shal not be impertinent to the matter in hand,

Euseb. Ibid.

Nicepho. lib. 4.
cap. 32.

Lib. 4 cap. 39.

Niceph. Ibid.

Aug. h. 29.

Epiph. h. 29.

30. concil.

Antioch. cap.

1. Laodicea

cap 7.

to con-

Philastriu
Catalogo
hære.

Beda. in hi
Ecclef. An
lib. 3. cap.

Matth. 16.

to consider how this controuersy about the keeping of easter, ended many yeares after in England, betwyxt the English Byshops mayntayning the custome of Rome, and the Scottish that were Schismatykes and obserued the custome of Asia which venerable Bede recounteth, saying; that Bishop Colman, with his Scottish elergy, being assembled in Northumberland, with Agilbert Bishop of the east Saxons, & his Priests Wilfred and Agathon in the presence of King Oswy, after long debating the matter on both sydes, Wilfred answered to Colman (who relyed vpon the authority of Anatholius, and Columba his predecessors) although, quoth he, Columba was a holy man, yet cotld he not be perferred before Peter the most blessed Prince of the Apostles, to whome our Lord sayd, *thou art Peter, and vpon this rock I wil buyld my Churche, & hel gates shal not preuayle against it, and to thee I wil geue the Keyes of the Kingdome of heauen*, when Wilfrid had sayd this; King Oswy, who had ben brought vp by the Scots, and infected with their schisme, asked Colman wheather he could proue that so great authority was geuen to Columba, and Colman answered no, and do you on both syds, sayth the King, grant without controuersy, that this was sayd principally to Peter, and that the Keyes of the Kingdome of heauen were geuen him by our Lord, and both parts answered yea; nay then, quoth the King merily, I assure yow, I wil not in any thing contradict that porter, but as farre as my knowledge and power shal extend, I wil obey his commaundments least perhaps, when I shal come to heauen, and haue him my enemy that keepeth the keyes, no man wil open me the gates; The King hauing sayd thus all that were present both litle and great (sayth saynt Bede) allowed therof, and yeilded to receiue the Catholyke custome of keeping Easter on the Sunday. Thus wee see this great controuersy ended also in England neere a thousand yeres agoe, by the authority of the sea Apostolyke, so that to returne to Pope Victor, wee may truly say he had the victory, or rather that saynt

Peeter by him, and his successors vanquished all such as opposed themselves to this tradition of the Roman Church.

Seeing then in the tyme of K. Lucius, the Bishops of Rome both claymed and exercised supreme authority ouer all other Bishops, making general edicts, condemning heretykes, deposing and restoring Bishops, caulding counceles, and excommunicating whole prouinces and cuntries, I appeale to thee gentie reader, whether he was not then generally held for supreme head of the Church, & whether it is lykly, that when Eleutherius the Pope made King Lucius a Christian, he made him a protestant, that is to say, an enemy to the sea Apostolyk, a persecuter of Priests, and of all such as defend the dignity, and autoritie, of saynt Peeter his predecessor, from whome he claymed, and held the supremacy, of the Church, which now all protestants deny to his successors.

And agayne, seeing I haue proued that the authority of the sea Apostolyke is not grounded vpon any humain tradition but vpon the institution of our sauiour himselfe, who left his flock and sheep to saynt Peeter to be fed, and buylt his Church vpon him, as vpon a sure rock, promising that hel gates should not preuayle against it, or dayning for the auoyding of Schisme & diuision one head, from the which the dyuers and manyfold members of his Church might receiue the influence of one doctrine and spirit, what shal wee say of them, that are not of this fold, that do not communicate with this head, that are not planted vpon this root of vnyty, nor buylt vpon this rock; that agaynst the chayre of Peeter set vp a chayre of pestilence, can they be the sheep of Christ, or members of his mystical body? or receiue the influence of his spirit? it is no maruel, yf they be caryed away with euery blast of new doctrine, torne and rent with euery schisme, and cast at length vpon the rockes of heresy or atheisme; haue wee not then sufficient reason to giue lands, lyues, or what honour, pleasure, or comodity fouer the world yeildeth, rather then to be driuen from
this

Ioan. 21.

Matth. 16.

this safe harbor of truth, and ancor of vnity, into the seas of schisme and heresy, to the assured shipwrack of our soules? and when wee spend our blood for this cause, do we not dy for religion, yea for a most important point of religion, though it be made treason? wherof wee may truly saye with the blessed martyr Sir Thomas More that it is a treason without sinne, for the which a mā may be hanged and haue no harme, dy and liue for euer, seeme to some a traytor; and be a glorious martyr.

THE MATTER OF HOLY

*Images is debated, and the vse therof proued to
haue ben in the Church of God euer since
our Sauiours tyme.*

CHAP. XI.

BVt let vs examine a poynt or two more of religion wherein our aduersaries dissent from vs, that wee may see wheather K. Lucius were more lyke to learne their doctrin concerning the same or ours, and for that they think they haue a maruelous aduantage of vs in the matter of Images, and relykes of saints, wherein they charge vs with flat Idolatrie, and breach of the commaundment of God, I wil say somewhat therof.

And fyrst I cannot but maruel at their grosnesse, that cannot distinguish betwixt an Idol and an Image, whereof they may learne the difference in Origen and Theodoretus, expounding these words of the commaundment, *non facies tibi Idolū, thou shalt not make to thy self any Idol*, (for the septuaginta whose translation they follow, for sculptile haue *ειδωλον*, that is to say an Idol) wherevpon they say, that an Idol is a fals similitude representing a thing which is not, & that a similitude, or Image, is a representation of a thing which truly is, to which purpose also S. Paule sayth, *Idolum*

Orige. hom.
8. in Exodu.
Theodoret.
quest. 38. in
Exodum.

Exod. 30.

Leuit. 19. 26.
Num 23.
Deut 6.

nihil est in mundo, an Idol is nothing in the world, for that Idols represent no truth, but mere fictions vanities, and lyes, and therefore are cauled in the Hebrew text of the holy scriptures *Elilum* and *Auanim* wheron it followeth, that all Images or other creatures held or adored for Gods, which they neither are, nor yet possibly can bee, are truly and properly Idols, whereas other Images, that represent a truth can not so bee cauled, and this difference is euident in the holy scriptures, which neuer attribute the name of Idol to the true Image of any thing, but to the fals gods of the gentils, and vseth the name of *Image*, for the similitud of that, which is truly the thing that it is thought to be, or hath the true proprieties that by the Image are represented, & so Christ is cauled the Image of his father, and Salomon is sayd to haue made in the temple Images of Lions, Oxen, Flowers, yea and of the Cherubins, who (though they were Angels and Spirits) were neuerthelesse pourtrayed lyke men, (to expresse the forme, wherein they appeared to Moses on the mountayne) and with wings to shew the celerity of their motion, so that the representation made therby, was true, as of a true apparition, and a true propriety in the Angelical nature;

Sap. 7.
Colossen. 1.
Hebr. 1.

3. Reg. 7.

Conc. Nicz.
3. Añ 4.

Herevpon it foloweth, that Images which are not honored for Gods, but ordayned for the honor of Christ, and his saynts (who are truly that which they are represented to be) are no Idols, and therefore our aduersaries are eyther very ignorant, or malicious, when they confound these woords in such sort as to cal Images Idols, and to translate *Idolum* in the scripture an Image as they commonly do very absurdly, and sometymes ridiculously, as in S. Paule where he speaketh of *couetousnes* saying, it is *ειδωλολατρία*, that is to say, *Idolatry*, or the seruice of Idols, and in an other place; that the couetous man is *ειδωλολατρης*, an *Idolater* or a *wootheshipper of Idols* (meaning therby that couetous men make theyr money, and their riches their Gods) they translate it, *couetousnes is the seruice of Images*, and the coueteous man is

Colossen. 3.
Ephes. 5.

Worshipper of Images, as though there were no other Idolatry, but that which may be done to Images, or that Image and Idole were all one, or that it could be sayd with any propriety, or reason, that a covetous man makes his money an Image, as it may be properly sayd, that he makes it an Idol, because he makes yt his God, which yt neither is, nor can be, in which respect it may wel be cauled an Idol.

Furdermore they bewray in themselves either great simplicity or peruers malice, in that they permit no honour nor reuerence to be donne to the Image of Christ, & his saynts; for doth not reason and common experience teach vs that the *honour or reuerence donne to the Image passeth from thence to the Prototipon*, that is to say, to the thing or person it representeth? he which crowneth (sayth S. Ambrose) *the image of the emperour, crowneth the Emperour, and he which contemnes his image seemeth to do iniury to his person*; when the people of Antiochia cast downe the image of the Empresse, wyfe to Theodosius the Emperour, he took it for so great an affront to her and him selfe, that he had lyke to haue destroyed the whole citty in reuenge thereof; and S. Chrysostome complayneth greuously of the indignity donne to the Emperour therein. The lyke was iudged in England of the violence done by Hacket to the Queenes picture, which was iustly held for a disloyal act agaynst her Magestyes person: And who knoweth not that he which standeth bare headed in the presence chaber before the Queenes chayre and cloth of state doth honour the Queene therein.

Also it was the custome in tymes past to adore the images of the Roman Emperours, which the Christians refused not to do, in which respect Iulian the Apostata, thinking either to draw them to adore his fals Gods, or els to haue some pretence to punish them for contempt of his person, placed his owne image amongst the images of false Gods, (as I haue noted in my Apology vpon an other occasion) whervpon S. Gregory Nazianzen sayth, that the simple Christians who did not fall into account of the de-

Basil. lib. de spiritu sancto. ca. 13. & Aug. lib. 3. de doctr. Christiana. cap. 9.

Ambro. serm. 10. in Psal. 118. Theodore. li. 5. hist. cap. 19.

Chrysost. orati. 2. & 3. ad popu. Antio.

Gregor. Naz. orat. 1. in Iul. Item Paulus Diaconus in vita Iulianae.

ceat,

ceat, were to be excused of ignorance, for that they thought they adored no more but the Emperours image; if therefore it be lawful to adore the image of an Emperour or earthly king for that he is the image of almighty God, I meane, if it bee lawful to adore the image of Gods image, how much more is it lawful to do reuerence to the image of God himselfe, I meane of Christ God and man?

And sure I am that many in England which wil not haue, nor reuerence; the image of our sauiour for feare of committing idolatry, wil make no bones at all, to keep some picture or remembrance of their Maistres to kisse it, and to vse other tokens of affection and respect towards it, to shew therby their good wil to her.

And how many are there in England that condemne catholykes for keeping images and pictures to moue them to deuotion, and yet make no scruple to keep lasciuious pictures to prouoke themselves to luit? wherby they might see by their owne experience, if they were not wilfully blynd, what is the effect of good and deuout pictures in wel disposed mynds, and what it would bee in themselves if they were as spiritual, and feruerous in the loue of God, as they are carnal and fyry in sensual appetyt; for who douteth that deuout representatiōs do as easely moue pious and godly minds to holy cogitations, and affections, as lasciuious obiects do kindle carnal mynds to concupiscence and lust? and therefore S. Gregory Nissen sayth, that he neuer beheld the picture of Abraham sacrificing his sonne Isaac, but hee was moued to teares, and yet it is likely that he had often read the story therof, without any such effect, as Basilius byshop of Ancyra noted very wel in the 7. general council of Nice, when the same was alleaged there out of S. Gregory aboue 800. yeres agoe, where vpo Theodorus byshop of Carane also inferred, in the same council, that much more may the story of our sauiours passion represented by picture woorke the lyke effect in deuout persons that behold the same. Wherof I think good

Greg. Niss. in
orat de dei-
tate filij &
spiritus Sācti.
allega. in con-
cil.

Cōcil. Nicen.
2.

Ibidem.

good to declare here a manifest example of my owne knowledge.

It chaced in the house of a Catholyke where. I was, that a young mayd of 15. or 16. yerres of age, (who had ben alwayes brought vp amongsts protestates) comming thether, and seeing a picture of Christ crulified demaunded whose picture it was, and being told that it was the picture of our sauour Christ, wherby she might see what he suffred for vs, she was moued with such compassion that after she had stedfastly beheld it a whyle, she burst out first into fighes, & after into teares, saying that shee had often heard of it, but neuer seene it befote, adding further our Lord helpe vs it he suffred all this for vs.

Wherby it may appeare, how true is that, which saynt Gregory the greate sayth of Images, to wit, that they are the bookes of the ignorant, who are many tymes more moued with pictures, then with preaching, and vnderstand that which is taught the much better, when it is by Images or pictures represented to their eyes; for as the Poet sayth.

Segnius irritant animos immixta per aures

Quam quae sunt oculis commissa fidelibus,

Greg. lib. 9.
epist. ad Se-
renum epis-
copum Mas-
sili. epist. 9.

Horat. de arte
poetica.

That is to say; those things that are conceaued by hearing do lesse moue the mynds of men, then such thinges as are committed to the sight.

This the deuil knoweth so wel, as to hinder the same & all other good effects of holy Images, and detour pictures, yea and to exterminat, as much as in him lyeth, all external monuments, and memories of the lyfe and passion of our sauour, and his saynts, and so by degrees to root out all Christian religion, he hath stirred vp in all ages his instruments and seruants to make warre against holy Images vnder colour of zeale to Gods honour and glory.

To this purpose it may be noted, that the first and cheef impugnors of the lawful vse of Images, for some hundreth yeares togeather, were eyther Iewes, or magicians or ma-

A D E F E N C E

Niceph. li. 16.
p. 27.

Con. Nicen.
c. 5.

Cedren Zo-
narus, Nicet.
in vita leon.
p. 150.

Idem in vitis
horum. Im-
perat.

nifest heretikes, or otherwyse known for most wicked men. The first wherof was a persian called *Xenaius* about 500. yeres after Christ, whome Nicephorus cauleth *the servant of Satan*, saying that he made himselfe a Bishop, before he was baptised, and that *he was the first that taught that the Image of Christ, and of his saynts ought not to be woorshiped*, and almost 200. yeres after, in the yere of our Lord 676. the Iewes impugned the vse of Images in their Talmud; and about the yere of our Lord 700. a Iew perswaded a Mahometan King in Arabia to burne all the Images in the Churches of the Christians, and shortly after Leo Isaurus the Emperour did the lyke by perswasion of a Iew, whose example his sonne Leo Copronimus followed, being a magician, and a nestorian heretyk, and about the yere 800. Leo Armenius the Emperour and his successors Michael Balbus and Theophilus, (all three most wicked men, & the last addicted both to iudaisme, and necromancy) made a new warre against Images, which the wyclefsits also did 500. yeares after, and now of late the Lutherans, and Calvinists; whereas all those that defended the vse of Images against Leo, and those other Emperours, were most holy, and learned men, as Gregorius and Hadrianus Bishops of Rome in those dayes, and Germanus, and Tharasius Bishops of Constantinople, S. Iohn Damascen, Methodius, Leontius, Ionas Aurelianensis, Paulus Diaconus, and diuers others, all of them men of singuler learning, and vertue, by the testimony of all autors, both Greeks & Latins.

THE

THE COMMANDMENT OF

*God touching images explicated, and the practise
of the Church declared.*

CHAP. XII.

BV T our aduersaries object against vs the commande- Exod 20.
ment of God, to wit, thou shalt not make to thy selfe
any grauen Image, nor any similitude of any thing,
&c. wherto I answere yf they take the bare letter
without the true sence and circumstances, no man may
make any Image whatsoever, nor so much as any lyknesse
of any thing in heauen or earth, but yf wee consider the cir-
cumstances, the end, and reason of the commaundement, it
maketh nothing at all against vs, for it is manifest that the
scope, and end therof is only to forbid Idolatry and the ma-
king of Idols, that is to say such Images only as are made
with intent to adore them for Gods, and therefore (as Ter-
tulan noteth expressely,) it presently followeth, *non adorabis* Tertul. lib. 2
contra Mar-
cionem.
ea neque coles; thou shalt not adore, nor worship them, which yet
appeareth more playnly in Leuiticus, where the same pro-
hibition being renewed, the intent or end is expressely added,
ad adorandum according to the Septuaginta or as S. Hierome Leuit 26.
translateth it *ut adoretis* that is to say, *to the end to do godly ho-*
nor therto; so that, where that end or intent is not, the ma-
king or vse of an Image, is not forbidden for that it is no
Idole; and therefore the Septuaginta in steede of *Sculptile*
haue *Idolum*, for that a graue Image is not to be vnderstood
to be forbidden, by that commandment, but when it is an
Idole; which interpretatiō of the Septuaginta, both Origin,
and Theodoret do follow in that place, as I haue noted
before; besydes that, almighty God commaunded after-
wards, the brazen Serpent to be set vp in the wilderness, & Num 21.
also Cherubins in the tēple, where the Iewes were wount Exod 25.
to adore; the which had ben contrary to his owne com-
maunde-

Jeron epist.
ad marcellā.

Aug. lib. 3 de
doctri.
Christ. cap. 9.

Aug. lib. 3. de
trinit. ca. 10.

Reg. 18.

Lib. 2. con-
tra Marcio.

maundement, yf he had absolutly forbidden the making of Images, or hauing them in temples and Churches; yea & wee may playnly gather out of saynt Hierome, that there was woorship and reuerence donne to the Cherubins, for he sayth, that the *Sancta Sanctorum* was woorshipped of the Iewes, because the Cherubins, & the Arke, and the Manna were there; to which purpose saynt Austugin geueth a general rule in his book of Christian doctri, saying that all profitable signes, instituted by almighty God, ought to be reuerenced and woorshipped, for that the honor donne to them doth passe to that which they represent; & in his book of the blessed Trinity speaking of signes that being dedicated to some religious vse deserue veneratiō, he putteth for example the brazen Serpent set vp in the wildernesse, which neuertheles was after wards worthely destroyed by K. Ezechias, when the Iewes committed Idolatry therto, & who douteth but that the holy scriptures, & holy vessels or any other thing dedicated to the seruice of God, is to be vsed with reuerēce & respect, & that God is honored therby? So that neither the making of Images, or dayned for Gods honor & seruice, nor yet the reuerend vse therof, was forbidden by that comandemēt, but only the abuse, which was Idolatry, and therefore our aduersaries do shamefully abuse the people, and impudently bely vs, when they say wee make Idols of the Images of Christ, and his saynts; & shew themselues very grosse in that they seeke to abolish altogether the vse of Images, or pictures, because some abuse perhaps is, or may be incident therto; for there is nothing in the world so necessary, so excelent, or holy, but yf it be vsed, it is or may be abused, the remedy wherof, is not to take away wholly the vse of the thing, but to correct the abuse, as; not to forbid wyne to all men, because some are drunk therewith, but to teach drunkards to vse it with moderation, and hereof the Church hath such care in the matter of Images, that the people are sufficiently instructed of the vse therof by their curats, pastors and preachers, in
so much

so much that no Catholyke man, nor yet any chyld I dare say, that hath but learned his Catechisme is ignorant that the image of Christ, is no more Christ himselfe then the Image of the Queene, is the Queene, and that the honor donne therto, resteth not in the Image, but redoundeth to Christ who is represented therby, and therefore is no more Idolatry, then the reuerence donne to the Queenes picture or cloth of estate is treason.

To come then to the practyse of the Church, the vse of images was not only alowed, but also ordayned by a canon of the Apostles, wherein they decreed that the image of our Sauour Iesus Christ God and man, and of his saynts, should be made by the hands of men and erected against Idols, and Iewes for the confusion of both;

*Sinod. Nice.
2. act. 1.*

So farre were they from thinking the vse of Images, to be Idolatry, that they ordayned the same, for confusion and ouerthrow of Idols, and Idolaters, and it is not to be doubted, that the Apostles made such a decree for the vse of Images, seeing the seuenth general council of Nice maketh mention therof, relying vpon the authority of saynt Basil, affirming that it was ordayned by the Apostles that Images should be erected and honored; besyds that Pamphilus the martyr doth testify, that he found in Origenes library the decrees of the Apostles made at Antioch, amongst the which; is this; the which may also bee confirmed by the vse and practyse of the Church of God, since the tyme of Christ, and his Apostles.

*Basil. epist. ad
Iulian. in
actis. 2. Nicœ.
cōcilij act. 2.*

*Vide Turrianum
canonibus apostolicis.
cap. 25.*

Wee read that Nicodemus that came to Christ by night made an Image of him crucified, and that before his death he gaue it to Gamaliel who deliuered it to Iames byshop of Hierusalem, and he to Simeon, and Simeon to Zacheus, and Zacheus to his successors, and that so it passed from one to another, vntil the Christians were forced to remoue from thence to Beritus a citty of Siria where afterwards the Iewes finding it, vsed it most opprobriously, & pearced it with a lance, out of the which issued great aboundance

*Athanasius
lib. de passione
Imaginis domini*

idem. lib. 1.

A D E F E N C E

Eusebius lib.
7. hist. ca. 14.

Ibidem.

Sozomen. li.
5 hist. ca. 20.

Euseb. lib. 7.
cap. 14.

a Lib. 4. hist.
cap. 26.

b Lib. 2. hist.
cap. 7.

c Lib. 4. de
fide orthod.
cap. 17.

In menologio græcorum.

Lib. 2. hist.
cap. 43. lib. 6
cap. 16. lib.
14 cap. 2.

of blood that did many miracles, and this was so notorious, that the blood was sent to dyuers parts, and a feast celebrated in Greece in memory therof in the moneth of November; this story was read in the second council of Nice, and approued by 350. byshops about 800. yeres agoe. Eusebius witnesseth that the woman which was cured by our sauour of a flux of blood, did set vp in the citty of Casarea in memory of the benefit, a brazen Image of our Sauour, and that there grew an herb at the foot therof, which when it once touched the hem of his garment, had the vertue to cure all diseases, and this Image Eusebius sayth he saw himselfe in his tyme, and the ecclesiastical histories written after, do signify that it remayned there vntil Iulian the Apostata caused it to be taken doune, and his owne Image to be set vp in the place, which was shrotly after ouerthrowen, and burnt with fyre from heauen, wherin it is to be noted, that almighty God did not only confirme the vse of Images by the continual miracles of the hearb, but also in destroying the Image of Iulian, set vp in the place of his, shewed his indignation towards all such as contemne his Image, or do any iniury therto. Eusebius also sayth that he had seene ancient Images of S. Peter, & saynt Paule kept by the Christians in his tyme. ^aEuagrius, ^bNicephorus, and ^cS. Iohn Damascen do declare, that amongst other auncient monuments of the Citty of Edessa, therwas a long tyme kept a true portrait of our sauour Christ which he himselfe sent to Abgarus king of that citty; and Leo a reader of Constantinople affirmed before the whole council of Nice aforesayd, that he had seene it, and Euagrius, and Theophanes recount great miracles donne thereby, in so much that the Greekes celebrated a solemne feast therof in September, as appeareth in the menologio, or kalendar of the Greekes; Nicephorus also sayth, that the holy Euangelist S. Luke did draw the true pourtraicts of our blessed Lady, and the Apostle S. Peter, which was kept at Constantinople in the tyme of Theodosius the Emperour,

Tertul-

Tertullian maketh mention of the picture of our sauiour in the forme of the good shepheard carying a sheepe vpon his back, ordinarily paynted vpon the chalices that were vsed in the Church in his tyme, which was in the raygne of king Lucius, so that there is no dout but the vse of Images, and pictures hath ben receiued in the Church of God, euer since the Apostels tyme, although by reason of the great persecutions vnder the Pagan Emperours they could neither be so frequent, nor publyk as after they began to bee in the tyme of Constantine the great; who buylding gorgeous temples adorned the same, not only with the signe of the crosse, but also with the Images of our sauiour, and of the twelue Apostels, of Angels, and of S. Iohn Baptist.

Tertul. li. de pudicitia.

Damasus in pontificali de sancto Siluestro.

S. Augustin noteth that the paynims might see our sauiour Christ paynted with S. Peter and S. Paule in many places. S. Hierome comendeth the feruor and deuotion of Paula, that went vp the mountayne of Caluary, and prostraying her selfe before the Crosse, adored it as though she had seene our sauiour hanging thereon, S. Chrysostome in his liturgy, which Erasmus translated, signifieth that the priest going forth with the gospel in his hand, and a candel caried before him vsed to bow downe his head, to do reuerence to an Image of Christ.

De consensu euang. lib. 3. cap. 10.

Hieron. in epitaph pauli. Christ in Liturgia.

S. Basil, S. Gregory Nissen, Euodius, Prudentius, and S. Paulinus do make honorable mention of the Images of S. Barlaam, S. Theodorus, S. Steeuen, S. Cassian, S. Martin in Churches in their tyme, which was 1200. yeres agoe: and yf good reader, I should alledge the testimonies of all the fathers, that from the tyme of Constantine did witnes, & approue the publyk vse of Images in the Church, I should write a whole volume of this matter, and therefore it may suffyse the to vnderstand that although some auncient Fathers as S. Ireneus, Epiphanius and S. Augustin do reprove somtymes the abuse of some Images, as that the heretykes called Gnostici, and others of the sect of Simon placed the images of Christ, and of S. Peter, and S. Paule with other of

Basil. in S. Barlaam. Greg. Nis. orat. in Theodorum.

Euodius dimiraculis S. Stephani. Prudent. in him. Pauli Epist.

12. ad cenerum.

Ireneus lib. 1. cap. 24.

Epiphanius. hær. 27.

August. ad quodam. hær. 7.

Pitha-

A D E F E N C E

103. Damasc.
de hazel. in
fine.
Syno. Nicæn.
2. act 5. in fi-
ne.

Pithagoras, Homer, Aristotle, Helen, Minerua, and such lyke, and adored them as Gods with sacrifices, and incense after the manner of the gentils, yet they neuer disallowed the lawful vse therof, and therefore those, that haue at any tyme reiected the same haue ben alwayes noted, and abhorred of all as heretykes, and called Iconomachi, or Iconoclastæ, against whome was assembled 800. yeres agoe the seuenth great general Councel at Nice where they were condemned for heretykes, and woors then Samaritans; by 350. Bishops.

O F T H E R E L I C K S

of Saynts.

C H A P. XIII.

Marc. 6.

A& 16.
A& 5.

4. Regum. 13.

Gregor. lib. 3.
ep. 30.

Chrysoft.
serm. de S.
Ignatio, to. 5.

NOw to say somewhat of holy relicks; There is no dout but the vse thereof proceeded of the examples in H. Scripture of the great miracles done by the touching of Christs garment by the handkerchef and gyrdle of S. Paule, by the shadow of S. Peter, and in the old Testament by the body of Elizeus, wherewith a dead man was reuiued, by all which the first Christians were induc-
ed to reuerence and honour euery thing that pertayned to the seruants of God, and to expect consolation therby, wherfore when S. Peter, and S. Paule suffred at Rome, the Christians of the east, came thether, to haue theyr relycks as belonging to them by right, for that they were their cuntrymen, when S. Ignatius, who was thyrd byshop of Antioch after S. Peter was martyred at Rome, the Christiãs caryed his relickes with great solemnity to Antioch, and as S. Chrysoftome testifieth many miracles were donne by the same. At the martyrdom of S. Policarp byshop of Smyrna who also liued in the Apostles tyme, & was put to death not aboue 12. yeres before king Lucius receiued the
fayth

sayth) the Christians of his diocesse that were present, gathered vp his relikes, & vsed them with great reuerence, as they themselves witnessed in an epistle which Eusebius recyteth at large, wherein amongst other things they say thus. Afterwards hauing gathered out of the ashes his bones more worthy then precious stones, and more pure then gold, we piaced them in a place seemely, and fit for them, where assembling our selues sometymes, wee may by the help of our Lord, celebrat the day of his martyrdome, as of his natiuity, with great ioy and exultation, thus farre the Christians of the Church of Smyrna S. Cipriā, besydes the yerely celebration of martyrs feasts, maketh often mention of oblations, and sacrifices offred in memory of them, so doth also Tertullian, so that by these testimonies it appeareth, that in the tyme not only of King Lucius but also of the Apostles, and their Disciples the relikes of Gods seruants were kept, and highly honored, and feasts of their martyrdome celebrated, vnder tytle of their natiuityes, as stil it is vsed in our Cathol. Church, and no maruel, seing the Christians at that tyme vsed to creep and kisse their chaynes, whyles they were yet liuing in prison, as Tertullian witnesseth, and yf we cōsider the vniforme consent of all fathers in all ages, concerning this poynt, wee may wel wounder at the malice of our aduersaries that do deny it, especially seing in the primatiue Church it was so euident that the very paynims knew it, and therfore were wont to cast the ashes, & bones of the martyrs into riuers, or otherwyse to make them a way, to the end the Christians should not recouer them, and Eunapius Sardinianus of Alexandria a paynim writteth that the Christians in his tyme honored their martyrs being dead, kneeling and prostrating them selues before their tombs, and making them their Embassadors to deliuer their prayers to God.

But to returne to the fathers of the Church, S. Augustin to confound the gentils reherceth many miracles donne by the very flowers that had but only touched the relicaries

L

where

Greg. Niss.
orat. in laudē
magni Theo-
lon.

Aug. de ci-
uit. Dei. li. 22
cap. 8.

Theodor. in
hist. Sanct.
Patrum. c. 22
in Iacobo.
Venantius
For. u. in vi-
ta S. Marini.
lib. 4.
Paulus Dia-
conus. de gest.
longob. lib. 2
cap. 9.
Gregor. Na-
zianz. in Iu-
lian. orat. 1.

Ambr. serm.
94. de sanctis
Nazario &
celso.
Ambros. ep.
85. de inuict.
corporum
Sanct.
Geruasij &
Protasij ad
sororem.
August. lib.
confessio. 9.
cap. 7.

Chrysost. in
demonstra-
tione quod Chri-
stus sit Deus.

where the reliques of saynts were kept S. Gregory Nissen sayth that the Christians that came to the tombs of saynts, did take it for a great fauour that they might be suffered to cary away some of the dust that was about the same. S. Augustin also telleth that the sonne of one Irenaus was re- stored to lyfe, being anoynted only with the oyle of a lamp that did hang before the tomb of a martyr; in lyke manner Theodoret, Venantius, Fortunatus, & Paulus Diaconus, re- count wonderful miracles donne by the oyle of lamps that burned by martyrs tombs, yea S. Gregory Nazianzen sayth of his owne knowledge, that not only a litle dust, or bone of the martyrs but also the very remembrance of them sup- plyeth sometymes the want of their whole bodyes, and concludeth with this exclamation, *O rem prodigiosam, sa- lutem afferre sola recordatio*, o prodigious thing the only re- membrance of them giueth health, and in his oration in prayse of S. Ciprian he calleth to witnesse many that knew by their owne tryal, and experience, what great vertue & power was in this very dust & ashes to expel diuels to cure diseases, and for the foreknowing of things to come; S. Ambrose asketh why saythful men should not honour re- licks of saynts, which the very diuels reuerence, and feare, who also signifieth that he had a reuelation from almighty God of the place where the bodyes of S. Cervas, and Pro- tase were buried in Millan, wher-vpon he took them vp with great solemnity, as S. Augustin also witnesseth, who was present, and reporteth a great miracle of a blynd man that recovered his sight at the same tyme, and diuels expeld by the merits of those blessed martyrs.

S. Chrysostome proueth against the Painims, by the ho- nour donne to saynts relicks, that Christ is God, to whose power and omnipotency he sayth, it is to be ascribed, that his disciples, and seruants (who whyles they were liuing did seeme most contemptible) became after they were dead more venerable then Kings, in so much that at Rome and Constantinople Kings and prafidents (sayth he) runne to the

the tombe of a fisher, and take it for a great fauour that their bodyes may be buried, not hard by the Apostles bodyes, but without the circuit of their tombs, and be made as it were porters of Filthermen. Furthermore in his book against the gentils, where he discourseth at large of the lyfe & death of S. Babilas the martyr he signifieth that his body being placed in the suburbs of Antioch neare to a temple where there was an Oracle of Apollo, it put the diuel to silence, and when Iulian the Apostata thought by the remoue of it to remedy thesame, the Temple, and Idole were presently after destroyed with fire from heauen, wherwith as saynt Chrysostome testifieth Iulian and all the gentils were wondrously confounded; and so may our heretykes be in lyke manner, seing that they not only impugne with them this euident argument of the diuinity of Christ, but also hold that for Idolatry which maistreth the diuel, ouerthroweth Idols and confoundeth Idolaters.

¶ Lomit infinit others for breuities sake, & conclude with saynt Hierome who declareth the custome of the whole Church of God both in his tyme, and longe before, therby to confute Vigilantius the heretyke that taught the same doctrine in this behalfe that our heretykes teach at this day; whosoever sayth he adored martyrs? *Who euer saughe men to be God? yt greueth vigilantius to see the relickes of martyrs couered with costly and precious veyles belyke Constantin the Emperour committed sacrilege when he translated, to Constantinople the holly relickes of saynt Andrew, S. Luke, S. Timothe, wherat the diuels reare, and now also Arcadius, the Emperour belyke committeth sacrilege who after so long tyme hath translated the bones of Samuel the Prophet into Thracia, and all the Bishops that caryed the ashes lape in silk, and in a vessel of gold are to be condemned for fooles and sacrilegious persons, yea then the faythful people of all Churches are fooles also for going to receiue the same, with no lesse Ioy then if they had serue the Prophet a line, in so much that fro Palestina to Calcedon aboue was all the way swarmed of people that with one voyce sounded forth the praise of Christ, lastly so shal wee say that the Bishop of*

Hieron. ad-
uer. vigilan-

A D E F E N S E

Rome doth it when he offereth sacrifice to our Lord ouer S. Peter, and saynt Pauls venerable bones (as wee tearme them though thou caulest them vile dust) and when he taketh their tombs for the altars of Christ; lo here (good reader) the vse of Images and relykes, and the honor due to them approued by the Fathers of all ages, confirmed by the custome of all Christian nations, ratified by miracles, acknowledged by infidels, and Paynims, confessed by diuels, and yet denied and deryded by the heretyks of this tyme, are they not then more obstinat and malicious then heathens, yea then diuels themselues?

T H A T O V R D O C T R I N

concerning the sacrifice of the Masse was generally received, and beleued, in the tyme of king Lucius, & first that it was foretold & prophesied by Malachias.

C H A P. XIIII.

BUT I wil passe to an other importāt poynt, I mean the sacrifice of the Masse, to see whether our doctrine concerning the same or theirs was deliuered by our sauour to the Apostles and taught in king Lucius tyme or no.

The sacrifice of the Masse consisting in the oblation of the blessed body and blood of our sauour Iesus Christ, was prophesied by Malachias, præfigured by the sacrifice of Melchisedeth, instituted and offered by our sauour at his last supper, deliuered by him to his Apostles, practysed by them and by the Church of God euer since.

Malach. 1.

Malachias the Prophet foretelling the reiection of the Iewes, and the election of the gentils, signifieth withall the translation of the Iewes law and priesthood into a new law, and a new priesthood, and compareth or rather opposeth the priests of the one, to the priests of the other, sacrifice

sacrifice to sacrifice, place to place, altar to altar, and a polluted bread which they were wont to offer only in Hierusalem, to a cleane oblatiō which should be offered to God amongst the Gentils euery where throughout the whole world, saying to the priests of the Iewes in the person of God, that since they dyspyed his name, and offered vpon his altars a polluted bread, and blynd and lame sacrifices, *non est mihi voluntas in vobis, &c.* sayth hee, *my wil is no longer to be seru'd of you, neyther wil I accept any more sacrifice at your hands, for my name is great amongst the Gentils euen from the east to the west, & there is a cleane oblation offered to my name in euery place, &c.* Thus farre the Prophet, who cannot be vnderstood to speake of any other sacrifice then of the Masse, which being nothing els but the oblation of the blessed body and blood of our sauour Iesus Christ in forme of bread and wyne, is a most pure and cleane oblation, and cannot be polluted by the wickednes of the priests, as the bread offered in the old law was wont to be; to which purpose it may be noted that the Prophet speaking of dyuers kinds of sacrifices, some consisting of beasts or catel (which he signified by the words blynd and lame) and other in bread, he attributeth the word polluted or defiled to the bread only, not without mistery, to oppose therto the cleane sacrifice of the gentils in forme of bread, calling it a cleane oblation, and putting the special force of the antithesis betwyxt the figure, and the verity, for that the *shew bread* or *bread of proposition* (being as S. Hierome sayth the bread which the priests polluted) was a proper figure of the holy eucharist, as he also testifieth.

Malach. ca. i.

Hieron. in
Malach. i.
Hieron. ibid.

Eurthermore this sacrifice cannot be vnderstood of the sacrifice of our sauour vpon the crosse, which was offered only once, and in one place, and not amongst the gentils; neither yet of spiritual sacrifices, as of thankes geuing, prayer, fasting, and other good workes, which are improperly cauled sacrifices, and therefore it is to be noted that whensoever this woord sacrifice is improperly taken in

the scripture some other woord is alwayes ioyned thereto, to signify the same, as *hostia laudis, sacrificium iustitia. Sacrificium cordis contriti*, the host or sacrifice of prayse, the sacrifice of iustice, the sacrifice of a contrit hart, and on the other syde whensoever it is alone without any woord adioyned, to re- strayne or diminish the sence (as it is in this prophesy) it signifyeth a true and proper sacrifice;

This difference may wel be noted, where it is said, *misericordiam volui, non sacrificium*, I wil haue mercy and not sacrifice, and agayne *obedientia est melior quam victima*, obedience is better then sacrifice, in which sentences sacrifice properly taken, is opposed to mercy and obedience, which also may improperly be cauled sacrifices, as wel as thanks geuing, prayse of God or any other good worke whatsoeuer.

Agayne the prophet speaketh heere of a sacrifice or oblation which should be but one, caulng it a cleane oblation, but the spiritual sacrifices are as many as there are good woorkes of the faythful.

Also he speaketh of a sacrifice proper to the new law, and to the gentils, & such a one as should succede the sacrifices of the Iewes, and be offred in steede therof, but spiritual sacrifices haue ben in all tymes, and common both to Iewes and gentils;

But howsoeuer other men may vnderstand this prophesy our aduersaryes cannot with any reason expound it, of the good woorkes of Christians, seeing they teach that the best woorkes of the iustest men are polluted, and vn- cleane, sinful and damnable, which therfore cannot, according to their doctrin, be that sacrifice which almighty God himselfe cauled by the mouth of his prophet, a cleane oblation.

Lastly the most learned and auncient fathers of the Church do vniformly expound this prophesy of the sacrifice of the masse; as S. Iustin the learned Philosopher and famous martyr, within 150. yeres after Christ, sayth that, of the sacrifices of the gentils that are offred in euery place, videlicet, the

psalm. 115.
psalm 4.
psalm. 50.

psalm 6.
Eccl. 11.

Iustin. In dia-
o. cum Tri-
pho.

the bread and cup of the Eucharist, Malachias the Prophet euen then spoke and foretold that wee should glory his name thereby.

Ireneus also hauing declared in what manner our father did institute the blessed Sacramēt of the Eucharist at his last supper, and that the Church receyuing the same of the Apostles offreth it to God throughout the world, addeth, *de quo & in duodecim prophetis Malachias sic presignificauit non est mihi voluntas in vobis, &c.* that is to say, whereof Malachias one of the twelue prophets did signify before hand, speaking to the Iewes in this manner, *my wil is no longer to be serued by you, &c.*

S. Chrysostome hauing alledged the same Prophecy concludeth. Behold, sayth he, how clearly and playnly he hath interpreted the mysticall table, which is the vnbloody host.

He that listeth to see more testimonies of the fathers let him read Tertulian, S. Ciprian, S. Hierome, S. Augustin, S. Ciril, Eusebius, Theodoretus, and S. Iohn Damascen in the places alledged in the margent.

Zachar. cap. 3. Aug. lib. 1. contra aduersar. leg. & prophet cap. 1. Ciril. li. de adorat. Euseb. lib. 1. de preparat. euangel. Theodoret super. Malach. 1. Damascen. lib. 4. de orthodoxis fide.

Irenæ. lib. 4. cap. 33. item c. 33. & 34.

Chrysost. hom. in psal. 95.

Tertul. li. 9. contra marcionem in fine. Cyprian. lib. 3. contra Iudeos, cap. 10. Hieron. in

THAT

THAT NOT ONLY THE SACRIFICE of Melchisedech but also the sacrifices of the old law, were figures of the sacrifice of the masse & are changed into the same, and by the way is declared the necessity of sacrifice, as wel for common welth, as for religion.

CHAP. XV.

NOW to speake of the sacrifice of Melchisedech I think our aduersaries wil not deny that our sauiour was and is a Priest according to the order of Melchisedech, and that he shal be so for euer as the Prophet Dauid testifieth of him, saying, *tu es sacerdos in eternū secundum ordinem Melchisedech*, thou art a Priest for euer according to the order of Melchisedech, the which saynt Paule also sheweth amply in his epistle to the Hebrews; the which being granted, two things do evidently follow thereon.

The first is, that for as much as priesthood and sacrifice are correlatiues, and cannot be the one without the other; in which respect saynt Paule sayth that a Priest or Bishop is ordeyned *ut offerat dona & sacrificia*, to offer giftes and sacrifices, & agayne that our sauiour being a Priest *must needs haue something to offer*, and seing his sacrifice vpon the crosse was offered by him but once, neither can euer be reiterat in that manner, and therefore cannot be that continual sacrifice which must needs correspond to his eternal priesthood, & bee continually offered in his Church, I cōclude that besydes his sacrifice vpon the crosse, he did institut and leaue behind him some other, to be offered dayly, not only for remission of dayly sinnes, but also for a most deuine act of religion wherby all faythful people may dayly do to almighty God the due worship & seruice they owe him, the which kind of worship by publik sacrifice, was not only vsed in the law of Moyse, but also in the law of nature, & is so due to God from

from man, and proceedeth so intrinsically from the very grounds and principles of nature it selfe, that their can be no perfect religion nor good common welth without it.

For as for religion whereas the special office and end thereof is to acknowledge by external acts the seruice and subiection wee owe to our Lord and creator, and the dominion he hath ouer vs, it is manifest that no external act of religion doth so fully and conueniently expresse and signify the same as sacrifice, wherby wee gratefully offer to almighty God his owne creatures, not only rendring him part of his owne gifts, and yeilding him thanks therefore; but also destroying them in his honour, to testify as well that he is souerayn Lord of lyfe and death, as that we hold our being and all wee haue of him, and depend wholly of his wil and prouidence, yea and that we owe our owne lyfe to him in sacrifice and doe as it were redeeme the same with the death or destruction of an other creature; in signification wherof, he which in the old law did present to the priest any beast to be sacrificed, did hold him by the head, wheron the priest did also lay his hands, to shew that it was offred as a price *pro capite*, for the head or lyfe of him, that made the oblation.

Therefore for as much as this kynd of worship is the greatest & most proper testimony we can externaly yeild, of vassellage and seruitude to our creator, it cannot without preiudice of his right be communicated to any creature whatsoeuer, in which respect it is cauled by the deuynes *latris* as due to God alone and for that cause not only the

Euseb. de
præp. euang.
lib. 1. cap. 10.

Aug. 11. cōtra
aduersar. l.
gis.

deuil (that seeketh to robbe almighty God of his glory) but also such men as haue made themselves to be held for Gods, haue etier affected this kynd of woorship as the highest and most due to diuinity. Seeing then sacrifice is most essential to religion, and a most proper and principal act thereof, it followeth that there can be no perfect religion without priesthood and sacrifice for which cause

Hebr. 7.
Daniel ca. 3.

S. Paule speaking of the translation of the law maketh it to depend wholly vpon the translation of the priesthood, saying that *the priesthood being translated there must needs be withal, a translation of the law.* And Daniel the Prophet describing the religion of the Iewes false to desolation, sayd; that they had neither sacrifice, oblation nor incense amongst them.

Plutarch ad-
uers Colote
epicureum.

Arist lib. 7.
politic.

And now to speake a word or two, by the way, of common welth, where as nothing is more natural to man-kynd then the same (to the which all men are by a general instinct of nature so inclyned, that ther was neuer found any people so barbarous but they liued in society) it is to be noted, that it hath neuer ben read nor heard of that any common welth hath ben without sacrifice, whervpon Plutarch sayth, that though a man may happely fynd some cittyes without wals, without scooles, without learning, without theaters, without money, yet no man euer saw citty without temples wherin sacrifice might be offered to God; And Aristotle speaking of things precisely necessary for common welth, ordeyneth that *special care be had of sacrifice to the Gods.* Wherof two reasons may be geuen, the one for that nothing is more truly political, nor tendeth more directly to the establishment of common welth then publik sacrifice, wherby not only a league of friendship and ciuil vnity is made amongst men by the participation & communion of the thing that is sacrificed, but also their passeth, as it were, a couenant betwyxt God and them, wherby they become his particuler people, and he their God and protector, without whose particuler prouidence and protection no common welth can eyther prosper or stand. The other reason is for that sacrifice being as before I haue declared most necessary to religion, is consequently necessary for common welth, wherof the true & natural end is religion, God hauing ordeyned man and all humaine things, principally for his owne seruice and therefore the very heathen Philosophers, namely Plato and all his fol-
lowers,

lowers, make the end of common welth to be nothing els but a religious wisdom, consisting in the knowledge, loue and seruice of God; and Aristotle placeth it in contemplation of deuine things, wherto he also specially requyreth the knowledge, loue, and seruice of God, which is nothing els but religion; in which respect he geueth the cheef pre-eminence and dignity amongst the magistrats to priests, whose special function and office is to offer sacrifice. The which is also confirmed by the custome of all good comon welths, as the ancient kingdomes of the Egyptians, and Romans, wherein the kings themselues were priests, and offred sacrifice; as also the cheefe magistrats amongst the Gretians were wont to do, and in the common welth of the Romans after the suppression of their kings, yea and when they florished most, the office of priests was so pre-eminent, that the cheefe bishops commanded and controlled the consuls, and as Cicero sayth, *præsuerunt tum religionibus deorum, tum summa reip.* that is to say, *had the cheefe authority not only in matters concerning religion but also in the common welth.*

Plato.
Plotinus.
Iamblicus.
Aristot.
Polit. lib. 7.
Ethic. lib. 10.
cap. 8. & lib.
3. ca. 14. & 15.
Aristot. li. 7.
politic.
Plato.
Plutarc. in
vitis Roman.
numz. &
Tulli holist.
Idem in pro-
blem.

Valerius li. 1.
ca. 1. Lucius
florus in
epito. lib. 47.
Cicero. ora-
tio. pro do-
mo sua.

Seeing then religion is naturally the end of common welth, and sacrifice a most necessary and principal act of religion, it followeth that sacrifice is no lesse natural and essential to common welth then to Religion.

But to leaue the consideration of common welth apart, and to conclude with religion and sacrifice, I say that for as much as they are both most natural to man, and that the woorkes and effects of grace do not ouerthrow, but nobilitate and perfect the good inclinations and woorkes of nature, yt must needs follow that our sauour by the law of grace, did no more depriue man of publike sacrifice then of religion, but that as he left him a most perfect and deuine Religion, farre excelling that which he had before eyther in the law of nature; or in the law of Moyse, so he left him also a most deuine sacrifice, wherby he might dayly pay the tribute of nature in a farre more excellent manner

then he did in eyther of the former states.

This is no lesse plainly, then learnedly taught by saynt Clement, S. Peters discipule and successor, who in his book of Apostolical constitutions declaring that our Sauour did not by the law of grace abrogate the law of nature, nor take away so much as any natural inclination in man, but confirme and perfect the first, and moderate the later, he sheweth withall, what was fulfilled and what was chaged in the law of Moyse, and amongst other things that he sayth were changed, he nameth baptism priesthood and sacrifice, saying that in steed of dayly baptismes our sauour ordayned only one, and for bloody sacrifice he instituted *rationale in cruentum, & mysticum sacrificium quod in mortem domini per symbola corporis & sanguinis sui celebratur*, that is to say a reasonable vnbloody & mystical sacrifice, the which is celebrated by the sacraments or signes of his body and blood in representation of his death; Thus sayth saint Clement of the proper sacrifice of the new law, that is to say the masse, as it is euident by his owne words; which saint Ireneus confirmeth, signifying that as there were oblations in the old law, so there are oblations in the new law, and *sacrificia in populo, sacrificia in Ecclesia, sacrifices amongst the people of the Iewes, and sacrifices in the Church*; in so much that he teacheth, that sacrifices were not reiected by mutatio of the law, but changed: whereto he addeth also this differēce, that sacrifice is now offred by vs, not as it was by the Iewes, that is to say as by bond men, but by free men, because our sauour hath deliuered vs from the bondage of the law, and thus sayth this ancient father of the sacrifice of the holy eucharist or masse, which a litle before he cauleth the *new oblation of the new testament* applying therto the prophesy of Malachy, as I haue noted in the last chapter.

To this purpose it is also to be noted that the most ancient and learned fathers do teach that the sacrifices of the old lawe (as wel bloody as vnbloody) were figures of this sacrifice, the which they affirme not only of the bread
of pro-

Clemen.
Apostolica-
rum con-
stitut. lib. 6.
cap. 2. 3.

Irenaeus li. 4.
cap. 34.

of propitiation, and the Howre which was offered for them that were cleansed from leprosy, but also of the sacrifice of the Paschal lambe; and sayne Augustin teacheth expressly that all the sacrifices of the old law were no lesse figures of this sacrifice of the Church, then of the sacrifice of the crosse, saying that *singulare sacrificium* &c. the singular or most excellent sacrifice, which spiritual Israel that is to say, the Church, doth offer euery where according to the order of Melchisedech, was signified by the shadows of sacrifices wherein the people of the Iewes did serue, and agayne in the same place, he sayth that *omnia genera priorum sacrificiorum*, all kinds of former sacrifices, were shadowes of the sacrifice of the Church. Whereof the reason may be gathered out of him selfe; to wit because this sacrifice of the Church is the selfe same, that was offered vpon the crosse, that is to say, our sauour him selfe, whome all the sacrifices of the old law did properly prefigure; the which reason S. August. seemeth himself to yeild, saying that our sauour sent those whome he healed of their leprosy to the Priests of the old law to offer sacrifice, because the sacrifice which was to be celebrated in the Church, in steede of all the sacrifices of the old law, was not then instituted, and getting as it were, a further reason therof, he sayth, *quia illis omnibus ipse praeiudicabatur*, because he him selfe was fore shewed or signified by them all as though he should say, that for as much as our sauour who was prefigured by all the sacrifices of the old law, was to bee offered in the sacrifice of the Church, or new law, therefore the sayd sacrifice of the Church was also prefigured by all those former sacrifices, & to be offered in steede of them; which otherwhere he teacheth expressly in these woords the table (sayth he) which the priest of the new testament, that is to say our sauour Christ doth exhibitis of his owne body and blood, for that is the sacrifice, which succeedeth all the sacrifices of the old law, that were offered in shadow or figure of that which was to come, and a litle after; in steede of all those sacrifices his body is offered, and ministered to the communicants, thus

Hieron. lib. 1. Malach. ex. 1. Iustin. in dial.

Origen in in 26. Mat. Tertul lib. 4. contra Marcion Ciprian. lib. de unit. ecclesiae Ambros. in 1. ca. Luc.

Aug lib. 1. contra aduersar. leg. & prophet. cap. 18. & 19.

August. de baptismo contra Donatistas lib. 3. cap. 19.

August. de baptismo contra Donatistas lib. 3. cap. 19.

August. de ciuit. Dei lib. 17. cap. 20.

Leo Mag. ser.
8. de passione

Chrysost. ho.
in Plal. 91.

Chrysost. ho.
34. in 10. cap.
1. ad Cor.

Cyprian. de
cena Do-
mini.

farre saynt Augustin, to whome I wil ad twoo or three other of the most famous fathers of the church S. Leo sur-named the great, sayth, *now that the varieties of carnal & fleshty sacrifices do cease, thy body and blood, o Lord, doth supply, for all the differences of hosts and sacrifices in the old law; And S. Chrysostome hauing mentioned particulerly the many and diuers sacrifices of the old law, addeth, all which the grace of the new testament doth comprehend in one sacrifice ordeyning one, & the same a true host; in which woords saynt Chrysostome meaneth the sacrifice of the Eucharist, which he cauleth a litle before the mystical table a pure and vnbloody host, a heauenty & most reuerend sacrifice which also he confirmeth otherwhere saying that Christ did change the sacrifices of the old law, and in steede therof commanded himselfe to be offered, in the eucharist. Lastly S. Cyprian speaking of the flesh of our sauour left to his Church for a sacrifice, sayth, that it was so to be prepared that it might continually be offered, least yf it were consumed (as other flesh is, that is bought in the market and eaten) it could not suffice for all the christian world to serue them for an host or sacrifice of christian religion in so much that he affirmeth that *if it were consumed, it seemed ther could be no more religion* signifying therby not only the necessary concurrence of religion and sacrifice, whereof I haue spoken before, but also that the sacrifice of the masse is the proper sacrifice of the new testament, and that the eternity of the said testament dependeth vpon the eternity of this sacrifice, which is the first point that (as I vndertook to proue,) doth necessarily follow of the eternal priesthood of Christ according to the order of Melchisedech.*

The secōd poynt which I gather of Christs Priest-hood is, that seeing he fulfilled the figures of all the bloody sacrifices offered by the Priests of the order of Aaron (of which order he himselfe was not) it were absurd to say, that he fulfilled not the special & proper sacrifice of Melchisedech of whose order he was.

Genes. 14

The proper sacrifice of Melchisedech consisted in bread
and

and wyne as it appeareth in genesis; where it is sayd that when Melchisedech went to meete Abraham *protulit* (or as saynt Cyprian also readeth it) *obtulit panem & vinum* he brought forth or offred bread and wyne, and to shew the reason therof it followeth immediatly, *erat enim sacerdos Dei altissimi* for he was the Priest of the highest God, whereby it is signified that bread and wyne were the proper objects wherein he exercised his priestly function and the only matter of his sacrifice.

But for as much as the vnderstanding of this scripture, is much controuersed betwyx vs and our aduersaries, who deny that Melchisedechs sacrifice consisted of bread and wyne, (which they say he brought forth only to releue Abraham, and his company, and not to offer to God in sacrifice) I remit me to the opinion or rather to the vniforme consent of the most anciēt & learned fathers of the Church, who do not only vnderstand this scripture as wee do, but also teach that Christ fulfilled this figure of Melchisedechs sacrifice, at his last super.

Clemens Alexandrinus doth signify that Melchisedech did with some particuler ceremonies consecrat, or dedicate the bread and wyne whiche he gaue to Abraham; for he sayth that he gaue him *panem & vinum, sanctificatum munitu in typum eucharistie*, a sanctified or consecrated meate, in figure of the eucharist.

S. Cyprian sayth, We see the Sacrament or mystery of our Lords sacrifice prefigured in the priesthood of Melchisedech as the scripture testifieth saying, Melchisedech King of Salem brought forth bread and wyne, for he was the Priest of the highest God, and blessed Abraham, & a litle after, he sayth, that our sauiours order of Priesthood was deriued of Melchisedechs sacrifice, for that our sauiour offred sacrifice to God his Father, and offred the same that Melchisedech offred, to wit bread and wyne, that is to say his body and blood.

S. Augustin speaking of the oblation of Melchisedech when he went to meet Abraham. There appeared first sayth he,

Cyprian. li. 2.
epist. 3. ad
Ceciliam.

Clem. Alex.
lib. 4. Strom.
mat.

Cyprian. li. 2.
epist. 3. ad
Ceciliam.

the

Aug. de ci-
uit. dei lib.
16 ca. 22.
Hieron. epist.
ad Marcellā.
Idē ad Eua-
gri. epist. 126.
Hypolitus.
Ireneus.
Eusebius
Cæsari. Eu-
sebius Emil-
sen. Apolli-
narius Eusta-
thius.
Theodoret.
in Psal. 109.

Euseb. li. 5. de
demonst. ca.
3. Ambros. li.
5. de sacram.
& de ijs qui
mister. ini-
tiant cap. 8.
Hieron. in
Matth. cap.
26. & in qu.
sup. Genes.
Aug. in Psal.
33. & lib. 17.
de ciuit. dei
ca. 6. Chris.
hom. 35. &
36. in Genes.
Primasius.
Athanaf.
Photius.
Oecumen.
super. cap.

the sacrifice that now is offered to God by Christians throughout the world.

S. Hierome to Marcella sayth thou shalt fynd in genesis Melchisedech King of Salem who euen then offered bread and wyne in figure of Christ, and did dedicate the mystery of Christians consisting in the body and blood of our saviour. Thus sayth S. Hierome who teacheth also the same expressly in his epistle to Euagrius, confirming it with the testimony and authority of Hypolitus the ancient martyr, Ireneus, Eusebius Cæsariensis, Eusebius Emiffenus, Apollinarius, and Eustathius Bythops of Antioch.

Theodoretus declareth evidently that Melchisedech brought forth bread and wyne both to God for sacrifice and also to Abraham, for that he fore-saw in Abrahams seed, that is to say in Christ, a true paterne or example of his priesthood, and further he sayth that Christ fulfilling the figure began to exercise the function of the priesthood of Melchisedech in his last supper; and as I should alleadge all the places of the Fathers that confirme the same I should be too tedious, and therefore I remitt those that desyre to see more, to these that follow, v. Eusebius, S. Ambrose, S. Hierome, S. Aug. S. Chrysostome Primasius, S. Athanasius, Photius Oecumenius, S. Iohn Damascen, Arnobius, and Cassiodorus, and to the most of those that haue written vpon the 109. Psalme.

5. ad Hæbrz. Damascen. lib. 42. de orthod. cap. 14. Arnob. & Cassiodorus in Psal. 109.

Abraham, & a little after he sayth that our saviours order of Priesthood was deniued of Melchisedech. For that our saviour offered sacrifice to God his Father, and offered the same bread and wyne in figure of his body and blood. **THAT** Augustine in looking of the oblation of Melchisedech, when he went to meet Abraham there appeared first (sayth he)

THAT OUR SAVIOUR

Christ instituted and offered at his last supper the sacrifice of his blessed body, and blood, proved by his owne words, & by the expositions of the Fathers, with a declaration how he is sacrificed in the masse, and lastly that he gave commission and power to his disciples, to offer his body and blood in sacrifice, that is to say, to say masse.

CHAP. XVI.

IT appeareth by the premisses that the sacrifice of the Church that is to say the masse was prophesied and foretold by the Prophet Malachias, and prefigured not only by the sacrifice of Melchisedech consisting in bread and wyne, but also by all the sacrifices of the old law, yea & that our saviour at his last supper did exercise his Priestly function according to the order of Melchisedech in instituting and offering the same when he sacrificed his blessed body and blood in formes of bread and wyne, which I wil confirme in this chapter by the words of our saviour himselfe which he vsed in the institution and oblation therof, saying; *this is my body which is geuen for you, and this is my blood which is or shalbe shed for you, &c.*

Wherein it is to be noted, that not only the liturgies of the Apostles and of saynt Basil, saynt Chrysostome, & saynt Ambrose (which last is still vsed in Milan euer since S. Ambrose his tyme) but also saynt Paule, and all the 3. euangelists that report the words of our saviour, doe as wel in the Greeke text, as in the Syriac & Caldie, speak all in the present tense, saying *datur, fragitur traditur, fuditur pro vobis & in remissione peccatorum*, that is to say, *is geue, broken, deliuered, & shed, for you, and for the remission of sinnes*, signifying that the same was then presently donne in that vnbloody sacrifice, & not that it should be done only afterwards in the sacrifice vpon the crosse, though if wee haue also respect thereto, yea and

Luc. 22.
Matth. 26.

Liturgia Iacobi. Clemens lib. 8. constit. cap. 17.
Liturgia Basilij Chrysost. & Ambrosij.

1. Cor. 11.
Matth. 26.
Mar. 14.
Luc. 22.

N

to the

to the sacrifice of the masse dayly to be offred in the Church, it might truly be spoken in the future tense as our Latin translation of saynt Luke hath of the chalice *effundetur* it *shalbe shed*, though before speaking of the body it hath *datur*, it is *geuen*, where it is also further to be noted, that in the Greeke text of saynt Luke, this woord *effundetur* or or rather *effusum est*, is *shed*, hath playne relation to the blood in the chalice, and not to the blood that was to be shed on the crosse for that the woord *εχουομενον* which signifieth *effusum* is spoken of *ποτήριον* that is to say *the cup*, & therefore the text is *τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματι μου τὸ ὑπερ ἡμῶν ἐχουομενον* that is to say, *this is the cup, the new testament in my blood which cup is shed for you*, wherby the figure of metonymia, the cup is vsed for the blood in the cup, wherto S. Augustin alludeth speaking of the effusion of our sauiours blood vpon the altar; *the body of our Lord saith he is offred vpon the altar, and therefore the innocents that were killed do woorthely demand reuenge of their blood vnder the altar, vbi sanguis Christi effunditur pro peccatoribus, Where the blood of Christ is shed for sinners.*

The lyke may also be noted of our sauiours woords concerning his body, as S. Paule reporteth them in the Greek; in which tongue he wrote, where, in steede of *this is my body which shalbe geuen for you* (as we haue it in the Latin) we read *this is my body τὸ ὑπερ ἡμῶν κλωμενον* which is *broken for you*, which saynt Chrysostome expounding of our sauiours body in the Sacrament sayth, *he is broken for all a lyke, and is made a body for all a lyke*; and further declareth playnly in another place, that this cannot be vnderstood of his body on the crosse; for expounding these woords of S. Paule in the chapter before, *vz. panis quem frangimus, the bread which wee breake*, he sayth, *this wee may see fulfilled in the eucharist, & not on the crosse, but the contrary, for it was said, a bone of him shal not bee broken, but that which he suffered not vpon the crosse, he suffereth for thee in the oblation, and is content to be broken that he may fil all men.* Thus farre saynt Chrysostome who is not so grossly
to be

Luc. 22.

Aug. serm. 4.
de innocent.

1. Cor. 11.

Chrysost.
hom. 1. Cor.
11.Idem hom.
in 1. Cor. 10

to be vnderstood, as though he should meane that our sauiours bones which were not broken on the crosse, are broken in the eucharist, with the hurt and greefe of his person, but that his exceeding bounty towards man is such, that he is content, not only to take vpon him a sacramental forme of bread, but also to be handled, broken, and eaten to the end he may be distributed & made meate to feede and fill all men, yet so neuertheles that though it may be said as S. Chrysostome sayth, that he suffreth fraction or breaking in the Sacrament when it is broken (by reason of his real & true presence therein) yet he suffreth it without hurt or diuision of his person, by reason of his impassibilitie and omnipotency, being whole & perfect in euery part thereof though it be deuided and broken into neuer so many.

This is the meaning of this learned Father, who notably confirmeth therby our doctrine, not only concerning the verity of Christs body in the sacrament, but also concerning our sauiours sacrifice thereof at his last supper, seeing his exposition of our sauiours words admitteth no relation to his sacrifice vpon the crosse, whervpon it followeth that his body, which as he sayd him selfe *was geuen & broken for his Disciples*, and his blood which he sayd was *shed for many, and for remission of sinnes*, was then presently geuen and shed by him, that is to say offered by him in sacrifice.

This is notably confirmed by an other circumstance that is to be considered in the words of our Sauiour concerning the promulgation of his new law or manifestation of his new testament in the institution of the Sacrament of the Eucharist, for as the old testament was dedicated by the blood of a sacrifice, not to come but then offered to God when it was promulgat (with the which blood Moyses sprinkled the people, saying *this is the blood of the testament* Exod. 24. *that God hath sent vnto you*) so the new Testament was also dedicated by the blood of a sacrifice, not to be offered only after-wards vpon the crosse but then also presently offered by our sauiour, who therefore alluded evidently to the de-

Math. 26.

Ireneus li. 4.
cap 32.Aug contra
Iulianum lib.
6. cap. 21.Aug. epist. ad
Thymotheum.Chrysost.
om. 27 in
Cor. 11.

dedication of the old law, and to the very words of Moyses, saying *this is my blood of the new Testament*; sanctifying his Church farre more inwardly and effectually with the blood of his owne sacrificed body; when he gaue it to his Apostles to drink, then Moyses sanctified the people of the Iewes when he sprinkled them exteriorly with the blood of a sacrificed beast, and therefore saynt Ireneus calleth the Sacrament of the Eucharist *nouam oblationem noui Testamenti* the new oblation of the new Testament, and S. Augustin calleth it *Sacrificium noui Testamenti*, the sacrifice of the new Testament, and in an other place defyneth it to be a rite or ceremony commanded by almighty God in the manifestation of the new Testament, pertayning to the wourship which is due to God alone and called latria, *quo sibi sacrificari precepit*, with which rite or ceremony he commanded sacrifice to be donne to him self, and S. Chrysostome expounding these words of our sauour in saynt Paul. *Hic calix nouum Testamentum est in sanguine meo*, this cup is the new Testament in my blood, compareth evidently the cup of the old Testament with the cup of the new, blood with blood, and sacrifice with sacrifice, saying *the cup of the old Testament was certayne licors, and the blood of brute beasts, for after they had sacrificed in the old law, they took the blood in a cup and offered it, and therefore because Christ in steede of the blood of brute beasts introduced or brought in his owne blood, hee renewed the memory of the old sacrifice, &c.*

Thus far S. Chrysostome of the words of our sauour; and then prosecuting the interpretation of S. Pauls discourse therevpon, he addeth that Saynt Paule represented to the Corinthians our sauours actiō at his supper to the end they might be so affected, as though they where sitting at the same table with him & *ab ipso Christo accipientes hoc sacrificium*, and as though they receiued this sacrifice of Christ himselfe, declaring evidently that the sacrifice where with our sauour did dedicate his testament according to the figure in the old law, was not only offered on the crosse but also at his supper; whereof the reason is euident; for at his supper he was a
publyk

publik person, a maister of a family, free and at his owne liberty to make and publish his lawes, to assemble his friends, and witnesses of his wil, and those whome he meant to make his heyres, his vicars, and substituets; all which he did; whereas vpon the crosse, he represented no publik person, no maister of a family, no law maker, nor so much as a free man, but seemed the most abiect and miserable man in the world, forsaken of all men, and therefore S. Paule teacheth not that he did make, institut or publish his Testament vpon the crosse, but that he confirmed it there by his death, and that from thens forward it tooke effect, as men are wont before they dye to make their Testaments, which when they are dead beginne to be of force. Hebr. 9.

And for the further explication of this question it is to be considered, that although the sacrifice of the Crosse was a most absolute and perfect cōsummation of all sacrifices whatsoever, and a full redemption and satisfaction for the sinnes of the world, yet neuerthelesse it cannot be sayd properly to haue distinguished the old testament from the new, for that it was as I may tearme it, a certayne common and transcendent good; indifferent to both states and testaments, whereto all sacrifices as wel of the law of nature and the law of Moyses, had a relation, as now also the sacrifice of the Church hath in the law of grace, yet with this difference, as S. Augustin noteth, that the sacrifice of the crosse was prefigured and promised to come by the many and sundry sacrifices of the old law, and now is represented as past, by our one and only sacrifice of the new law; which sacrifice, though it be the same that our sauiour offered at his last supper, yet it hath a different respect to the sacrifice of the crosse, for that ours representeth the same as already past, and our sauiours sacrifice in his last supper, going before the other vpon the crosse, did not only represent the same to come, but also was as it were a preamble thereto, where in as venerable Bede our cuntryman sayth, Aug lib. 20.
contra faulst
ca. 21 & de
fide ad Pe-
trum cap. 19.

N 3

he began

A D E F E N C E

Beda.
Rupert lib. 2.
in Exodum.

Ifichius in
Leuit. cap. 4.

Leo sermo. 7.
de passionē.

Greg. Nissen.
orac. 4 de re-
surrectione.

Joan 6.
Math.

he began by passion, for that, as Rupertus affirmeth, in *angustia passionis agonizans*, being already in the agony and anguish of his passion, he offered himselfe with his owne hands to God his father, and as Ifichius testifieth, preventing his enemies, first sacrificed himselfe in his mystical supper, and after on the Crosse, whereof S. Leo also sayth, that he prevented his death by a voluntary oblation of himselfe in the Sacrament, and S. Gregorius Nissenus explicating this matter diuinly, sayth thus: Remember sayth he the words of our Lord to wit, no man shal take my lyfe from me, but I my selfe will geue it, &c. For he which doth geue all things of his owne power and authority doth not expect necessity by treason, nor the violent fury of the Iewes, nor the vniust iudgement of Pilat, that their wickednes, & malice shuld be the beginning of our saluation, but by a secret & ineffable manner of sacrifice, he doth preoccupat or prevent the violence of men by his owne disposition offering himselfe an oblation or sacrifice for vs; being both the priest & the lambe which taketh away the sinnes of the world. But perhaps thou wilt say vnto me when chanced this? euen then when he gaue to his familiar friends his body to be eaten, & his blood to be dronke; for a man cannot eat the sheep, but the slaughter must go before, Therefore when he gaue his body to his disciples to be eaten he did playnly demonstrat and shew, that the lamb was already immolated & sacrificed for the body of the host whyles it is liuing is not fit to be eaten. Thus farre this famous Gracian, brother to saynt Basil, whose doctrine concerning the sacrifice of our sauiours body before it be eaten, is most consonant to our sauiours owne words, not only when he instituted the holy eucharist (whereof I haue spoken already) but also before, when he promised it, for that whē soeuer he spoke therof, he represented the same to the vnderstanding of the hearers, as a body sacrificed & dead, not speaking of his whole person, or of himselfe as liuing, but of his flesh, of his body, of his blood, as, *my flesh is truly meate, and my blood is truly drinke, and the bread which I wil geue is my flesh, this is my body, this is my blood*, or if he spoke of himselfe, or of his person, it was with an addition to shew that he was to be eaten, as when he said

sayd he *Which eateth me liueth for me*, which kynd of speech Ioan 6.
 made some of his disciples forsake him, sayng it was *durus*
sermo, a hard speeche, conceauing therby that they were to
 eate him dead, as other flesh bought in the shambles, wheras
 he spoke in that manner to signify that he shuld be sacrific-
 ed before he should be eatē, and therefore he euer spoke of
 himselfe, as already killed and dead, for that no creature
 whyles he is liuing, is in case to be eaten, as S. Gregory
 Nissen doth note very wel, in the place before alledged, in
 which respect Paschasius also sayth, that *our Lord is killed to*
the end wee may eate him, and Iſichius, that Christ *killed himselfe*
 when he supped with his disciples, not because he is truly
 killed, or doth truly dy; but because he dyeth mystically, that
 is to say, for that his death is mystically and truly represen-
 ted, by the separation of his blood from his body vnder se-
 ueral and dyuers formes of bread and wyne; for although
 by reason of his immortality, and impasibiliytie he cannot
 dy, neyther yet be so deuided, but that he remayneth
 whole vnder both kynds, yet, for as much as the forme of
 wyne rather representeth his blood, then his body, and the
 forme of bread, rather his body, thē his blood (accordng to
 the very woords of our sauiour, saying of the one kynd, *this*
is my body, and of the other, *this is my blood*) it followeth I
 say, that by reason of this separation, wrought by the force
 of the woordes of consecration he is exhibited in the Sacra-
 ment as dead, and so dyeth in mystery, as wel to represent
 his death vpon the crosse, as also to offer himselfe in sacri-
 fice to his father, for the which it is not of necessity that
 he truly and really dy, but it sufficeth that he dy in some
 sort, that is to say mystically, for although all liuing
 creatures that are sacrificed are offered to God with the
 losse of their lyues, and so are made true sacrifices, yet
 in such other creatures, as are not subiect to death, it suffi-
 ceth that they be offered to almighty God, and receiue with-
 all some notable mutation, or change, to make the action
 to be sacrificial, and different from a simple oblation, for
 when

Greg. Nissen:
 orat. 1. de re-
 surrect.

Patchas li. de
 corpore &
 langu Do-
 mini cap. 19.

Iſchi. lib. 2.
 in leuit. ca. 8.

when any thing is offred to God, and remayneth stil in his owne kynd, forme, and nature, it is called an oblation, & so the first fruits, the tythes, the first begotten, or borne, of liuing creatures, yea and religious persons, as leuits, and others in the old law were only offred to God, for that they were no way changed, wheras al things sacrificyd were eyther wholly destroyed or consumed by swoord, or fyre, or els at least receiued by the actiō of the priest, some notable mutation.

Therefore seeing our sauiour being now eternal, immortal, and impassible is not subiect to death, nor to any destruction or mutation by losse of his lyfe, it sufficeth to make him a true sacrifice that he be offred to God with such mutation or change, as may stand with his present state, and condition; as wee see he is offred in this sacrifice, wherein, the selfe same body that was borne of the blessed virgin Mary, and is now in heauen glorified with the proper forme and lineaments of a natural body, is by the omnipotency of our sauiours woords pronounced by the priest, represented vpon the altar as dead, and in formes of bread and wyne, his body to be handled, broken, eaten, and his blood to be dronke, or shed, as the body or blood of any other liuing creature that is killed in sacrifice, wherby he is also in some sort cōsumed, for that his body being eaten and his blood dronke he looserh the forme, and peculiar māner of beeing that he hath in the sacrament; which beeing deuynes caul Sacramental: in respect of all which admirable mutations, S. Augustin doth notably and truly apply to our sauiour in this sacrifice the history of King Dauid, when he changed his countenance (as the scripture sayth) before Abimelech or king Achis (for they are both one) which he sayth, was verified in our sauiour Christ, when he changed his countenance in the priesthood, and sacrifice of Melchisedech geuing his body and blood to be eaten and dronk.

There was, sayth he, a sacrifice of the Iewes in beasts, according to the

Aug. in prae-
fat. Psalm. 33.
2. lib. Regum
cap. 21.

to the order of Aaron, and that in mystery, and there was not then the sacrifice of the body and blood of our Lord, which the faithful know, and is dispersed throughout the world, and a litle after shewing how Melchisedech brought forth bread and wyne when he blessed Abraham, he teacheth that it was a figure of this sacrifice, & then prosecuting the history how Dauid being taken for a mad man, went from Abimelech (which signifieth regnum Patris, that is to say, as he expoundeth it, the people of the Iewes,) he applyeth also the same to our Sauiour, saying that whē he told the Iewes that his flesh was meat, & his blood drinke, they took him for a mad man, and abandoned him, wherevpon he also forsook them, & changing his countenance in the sacrifice of Melchisedech, (that is to say, leauing all the sacrifices of the order of Aarō, and as it were disguysing him-selſe vnder the formes of bread and wyne, which was the sacrifice of Melchisedech) he passed from the Iewes to the Gentils.

This is the effect of S. Augustinus discours in that place concerning the mutation or change incident to our Sauiours person in the sacrament of the Eucharist, and requisite to the sacrifice whereof I treat, wherby it hath the nature of a true sacrifice, as I haue declared before, which being considered, with the circumstances of our sauiours owne woords, as wel in the promise as in the institution thereof, all signifying that his flesh, his body, and his blood was to be eaten & dronk, as of a creature killed in sacrifice, yea & that the same was then presently geuen or offred by him to his Father for his disciples (who represented the whole Church) and for remission of sinnes; besyds his manifest allusion to the promulgation of the old Testament, dedicated with the blood of a present sacrifice, and lastly the consent of the learned Fathers of the Church confirming our Catholyke doctrin in this behalfe, no reasonable man can dout but that our Sauiour at his last supper did ordeyn the Sacrament of the Eucharist to serue vs not only for a food and spiritual meate, but also for a sacrifice offering the

same him-selfe first to his Father, and then geuing commiſſiō and power to his Disciples to do that which he did, to wit to offer and sacrifice the same, saying *hoc facite in meam commemorationē*, that is to say, do, make, or sacrifice this in remembrance of me, for this woord *facite* as wel in the Syriac Hebrew and Greek as in the Latyn, signifieth to sacrifice, no lesse then to do or make as in Leuiticus, *faciet vnum pro peccato*, he shal sacrifice one (of the turtle doves) for remiſſiō of sinne, and in the book of Kings, *faciam bovem alterum*, I wil sacrifice the other ox, & the lyke may be seene in diuers other places of the holy scriptures, where the Hebrew & Greek woord which doth properly signify *facere* must needs be vnderstood to do sacrifice, in which sence *facere* is also vsed amongst the Latins, as *cum faciam vitula pro frugibus*, &c. When I shal sacrifice a calfe for my corne, &c, also in Plautus, *faciam tibi fideliam multiplenam*, I wil sacrifice vnto the a pot ful of sweete Wyne, and agayne in Cicero. *Iunoni omnes consules facere necesse est*, all the consuls must needs sacrifice, to Iuno. But howsoever it is, it litle importeth for the matter in questiō whether *facere* do properly signify to sacrifice or no seing it is euident that all the doctors of the Church do vnderstād that Christ cōmaunding his Apostles to do that which he did, commaunded them to sacrifice, S. Denis who was conuerted by S. Paul at Athens; declaring the practise of the Church in his tyme, sayth that the Bishop in the tyme of the holy mysteries, excuseth himself to almighty God, for that he is so bold to sacrifice the host that geueth health or saluation, aleadging for his excuse our Sauours commandment to wit, *hoc facite*, do this in my remembrance.

S. Clement in his Apostolical constitutions speaking to Priests in the name of the Apostles, sayth, *suscitato Domino offerre sacrificium vestrum de quo vobis praecepit per nos, hoc facite in meam commemorationem*, on easter day, When our Lord is risen, offer your sacrifice, as he commaunded you by vs, saying, do this in my remembrance.

Martialis who also conuersed with the Apostles, sayth that,

Eccl. 12.
Cor. 11.

Leuit. 15.

Reg. 18.

Leuit. 9. 14.

2. 24. n. 6. 8.

28. 3. Reg.

Ezechi. 46.

Leuit. 2.

Virgil. in Pa-

mone

Eccl. 3.

Plaut. in affi-

lia Cicero.

Pro Murena.

Dionys ec-

clesiasticz

hierarch. c. 3.

Clement lib.

1. constitutio

cap. 20.

that the Christians offered the body and blood of our Sa-
 uour Iesus Christ to lyfe euerlasting, because *he commaunded*
them to do it in remembrance of him.

Iustin the Philosopher, and Martyr within 140. yeares
 after Christ sayth, that God, who receiueth sacrifice at the
 hands of none but of Priests, did foretel by his Prophet, that
 those sacrifices should be grateful to him which Iesus Christ
 commaunded to be offered in the Eucharist.

Iustin. in
 dialog. cum
 Tripho.

S. Cyprian sayth; *our Lord and God Iesus Christe, is the cheefe*
Priest, and offered first sacrifice to God the Father and commaunded
that the same should be donne in his remembrance S. Chrysostome
 teaching that the sacrifice which is dayly offered in the
 Church, ys alwayes one and the self same sacrifice, be it
 offered neuer so oft, addeth, *that which we do, is donne in reme-*
brance of that which was donne by our Sauour, for he sayd, do this
in remembrance of me. I omit for breuities sake, S. Augustin,
 S. Ambrose, Primasius Bishop of vtica, S. Isidore, Haymo
 and diuers others that testify in lyke manner, that our Sa-
 uour, saying to his Apostles do this, gaue them comission
 and power to sacrifice, and thus much for the institution of
 the masse by our Sauour.

Cyprian.
 epist. 63. ad
 Caelium.

Chrys. hom.
 17. in epist.
 Hebrz.

Aug. lib. 20
 contra faul-
 cap. 21. Am-

brof. in c.
 epist. ad He-

brz. Prima-
 sius in ca. 1
 ad Hebrz.

Isidor lib. 1
 vocatio ge-
 tium. cap. 2
 Haymo in c.
 3. epist. ad
 Hebrz.

O 2

THAT

THAT THE APOSTLES

practysed the commission geuen them by our Sauours sacrificing or saying Masse them-selues, and leauing the vse and practyse therof vnto the Church, and that the ancient Fathers not only in King Lucius tyme, but also for the first 500. yeares after Christ, teach it to be a true sacrifice, and propitiatory for the liuing and for the dead.

CHAP. XVII.

NOW then to speake breefly of the practyse of the Apostles, and of Gods Church euer since, it being manifest by that which I haue sayd already, that our Sauour himsele did not only institute & offer the sacrifice of his body, and blood at his last super, but also gaue commission and power to his disciples to do that, which he did, it cannot be doubted, but that they executed this power and commission, and did not only consecrate and make the body of our sauiour, as he did, but also sacrificed the same.

Act. 20.

Therefore whereas we read in the Acts of the Apostles that they vsed to assemble themselues together *ad frangendum panem*, to break bread, it is doutles to be vnderstood, that they offred this sacrifice informe of bread, according to the commission & cōmaundmēt of our Sauour, & that the same was the publike ministry wherein the scripture sayth they were occupied, when they were commanded by the holy ghost to segregat Paul and Barnabas, whereof it is sayd, *ministrātibus illis Domino & ieiunantibus, &c.* whyles they were ministring to our Lord and fasting &c. which being in the Greeke *λει τοῦργοντων δε αντων τῷ κυριῳ* doth signify the ministry of sacrifice, in which sence *λει τοῦργεω* *λει τῶργος*, and *λει τῶργια* are taken in the scripture when they are vsed absolutely, and spoken of any publyke and holy ministry wherof

Act. 13.

wherof wee haue examples as wel in the epistle to the Hebrewes in dyuers places, as also in the gospel of S. Luke, author of the Acts of the Apostles, who speaking of Zacharias the priest, and of his ministry or office, which was to offer sacrifice calleth it *λει τῆς θύρας* and therefore Erasmus (of whose iudgement in lyke cases our aduersaries are wont to make no smale account) had great reason to translate the foresayd woords *λει τῶν θυγόντων δε αὐτῶν*, &c. *sacrificantibus illis Domino, &c.* as they were sacrificing to our Lord, &c. and so comon was this sence & vnderstanding of *λει τῶν θυγόντων* for sacrifice that the grecians haue no other proper woord for the sacrifice of the Masse.

Furdermore that the ministry of the Apostles in breaking bread, was a sacrifice, it appeareth euidently by S. Paule, who to withdraw the Corinthians from sacrificing to Idols, did represent vnto them the sacrifice which he and the Apostles did vse to offer in the breaking of bread, making a playne antithesis berwyxt the one sacrifice and the other, and comparing the bread which they brake as wel with the lawful sacrifices of the Iewes, as also with the unlawful sacrifices of the gentils. Of the first he sayth. Behold Israel according to the flesh are not those which eat of the sacrifices 1. Cor. 10. partakers of the Altar? and agayne speaking of the other, *flie*, sayth he, from the worship, that is to say, the sacrifices of Idols, and yeilding a reason, therof, the cup, sayth he, which wee blesse, is it not a communication of the blood of our Lord; & the bread which wee breake, is it not a participation of our Lords body, and after more playnly; those things which the gentils do sacrifice, they sacrifice to deuils, and not to God, I would not haue you to be partakers with deuils, you cannot drinke the cup of our Lord, and the cup of deuils, you cannot be partakers of the table of our Lord, and the table of deuils, &c. Thus farre the Apostle who as you see euidently compareth or rather opposeth cup to cup, table to table, Altar to Altar, sacrifice to sacrifice, and therefore saynt Ambrose vnderstandeth in this place the table of our Lord to be the Altar, saying, he which is partaker of the table 1. ad cor. 10. of Deuils,

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of Devils, *mensa Domini id est altari obstrepi*, doth oppose himselfe against the table of our Lord, that is to say the Altar, and saynt Hilary expoundeth it to be *mensam sacrificiorum* the table of sacrifices. Also S. Chrysostome vpon these woords *Calix benedictionis* the cup of blessing, and the rest that followeth in the text, sayth in the person of Christ, if thou desyre blood, sayth he, do not sprinkle the Altar of Idols with the blood of brute beasts, but my altar with my blood, S. Augustin in lyke sort interpreteth this place of the sacrifice of the Church, saying that S. Paul teacheth the Corinthians, *ad quod sacrificium debeant pertinere*, to what sacrifice they ought to belong, and Haymo, who wrote about 800. yeres agoe, sayth that *calix benedictionis*, the cup of blessing, which S. Paule speaketh of, is that cup which is blessed *a sacerdotibus in Altari*, of priests in the Altar, so that if wee consider the circumstances of S. Pauls woords with the interpretation of these learned Fathers, it can not be denyed, but that he and the other Apostles in the ceremony of breaking bread, did not only administer the Sacrament of the eucharist to the people (as our aduersaries would haue it) but also offer sacrifice. Which may sufficiently be confirmed, as wel by the liturgy or masse of S. Iames the Apostle, yet extant, agreeing with ours for as much as concerneth the substance of the sacrifice, as also by a constitution of the Apostles mentioned by S. Clement, saynt Peters disciple; wherein; they decreed, that nothing should be offered *super Altare*, vpon the Altar, more then our Lord had commaunded: and speaking further in the same decree of the Sunday he signifyeth that they exercysed that day, 3. seueral acts of religion, that is to say. *euangeliū predicationem, oblationem sacrificij, & sacri cibi dispensationem*; the preaching of the gospel, oblation of sacrifice, and the distribution of the holy meate, that is to say the holy eucharist; wherby it is euident that the publyke ministry of the Apostles, consisted not only in preaching and ministring the Sacrament of the eucharist, but also in oblation of sacrifice; here to I may ad the testimony of saynt Andrew the Apostle. Who being vrged by Egeas the pro-

consul

Hilar. in psal.
68.

Chrysost. ho.
24 in 10. cap.
2. epist. ad
Cor.

Aug. lib. con-
tra aduers.
Jeg. & Pro-
phet.

Haymo in
epist. ad
Corinth.

Clem. lib. 2.
constit. ca 63.

consul to sacrifice to the fals Gods, answered that he *sacrificed daily and distributed to the people, the flesh of the immaculate lambe,* as witnesseth the Epistle of the churches of Achaia declaring the story of his passion; besyds that Epiphanius a most auncient Father of the Church doth testify that all the Apostles did sacrifice, who writing against the sect of heretykes called Colliridians and reprehending them woorthely for hauing certayne women priests that offred sacrifice to our lady (which could not be offred to any but to God alone) sayth, it was neuer heard of since the world beganne that any woman did sacrifice, neither our first mother Eua, nor any of the holy women in the old Testament, no nor the virgin Mary her selfe, nor the 4. daughters of Philip the deacon though they were prophetesses, and then, hauing named Zacharias father to saynt Iohn for one that offred sacrifice in the old law, he addeth, that all the 12. Apostles (whome he nameth particulerly) did sacrifice; whereof it were a sufficient argument, though there were no other, that those Fathers who partly liued with them and receiued of them the Christian sayth, and partly succeeded them immediatly, do signify not only the vse of the sacrifice in the Church in theyr tyme, but also their constant and most reuerend opinion thereof, as it may appeare sufficiently by that which I haue already aleadged out of S. Clement, S. Denis, S. Martial, S. Iustin, and S. Ireneus, all which do vniformely teach that Christ deliuered this sacrifice to his Apostles, and the last of them to wit S. Ireneus scholer to S. Policarp who was scholer to S. Iohn the Euangelist, sayth, *that the Church receiuing it of the Apostles did offer it throughout the world,* in his tyme, which as I haue sayd before was in the tyme of K. Lucius and therefore I shal not neede to enlarge my selfe further in this matter to produce the testimonies of the later fathers partly because I haue already accomplished my principal intention in this treatyse, which is to proue that king Lucius could receaue from the Church of Rome, no other but

Epist. Be-
clesia AchaiaEpiphanius
hæres. 79.Clemēs. li. 9.
constit. c. 20.
Dionisius Ec-
clesia Hie-
rarch cap. 3.
Martial.
epist. ad Ru-
deg. Iustin.
Dial. cum
Tripho.
Ireneus. li. 4.
aduers. hæres.
ca. 32. & 34.

our

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our Gatholyke Roman sayth as wel in this poynt of the sacrifice of the Masse as in all other which wee professe, and partly because in handling and explicating the prophecies, and figures of the old testament, and the actions and woords of our Sauour, and of his Apostles concerning the institution vse and practyse of this sacrifice, I haue already aleadged so many playne and euident testimonies of the fathers, that it is needles to aleadge any more. Seeing it is most manifest therby that all those of the first 500. yeares both taught our doctrine in this poynt, and vnderstood the scriptures concerning the same as wee doe, and that they speake not of this sacrifice (as our aduersaries wil needs vnderstand them) as of an improper sacrifice, but in such sort, that they euidently shew their opinions, of the propriety, verity, and excellent dignity therof: and therefore in S. Denis scholer to S. Paule; it is called; *τελετων τελετη*, which Budæus translateth *sacrificium sacrificiorum*, the sacrifice of sacrifices. In S. Cyprian, *verum & plenum sacrificium*, a true and full sacrifice, which he sayth, the priest doth offer in the person of Christ to God the Father. In S. Chrysostome, *sacrificium tremendum & horrois plenum caeleste summèque venerandum sacrificium*, a dreadful sacrifice & full of horror, a heavenly & most reuerend sacrifice. In S. Augustin, *singulare summum & verissimum sacrificium*, cui omnia falsa sacrificia cesserant, the singular, and the most highest, and most true sacrifice, wherto all the false sacrifices of the gentils haue geuen place. In Eusebius, *sacrificium Deo plenum*, a sacrifice full of God. In S. Iohn Damascen *tremendum, vitale sacrificium*, a dreadful sacrifice and geuing lyfe. In Theodoretus, *sacrificionem agni dominici*, the sacrificing of the lambe of God, and in the first general councel of Nice held by aboue 300. Fathers, *situm in sacra mensa agnum illum Dei tollentem peccata mundi*, incruente a sacerdotibus in molatum, the lambe of God placed vpon the holy table, the which lambe taketh away the sinnes of the world, and is vnbloodily sacrificed by the priests, wherto may iustly be added the doctrine of all the Fathers, that this sacrifice is propitiatory for the liuing, and for the dead, grounded no dout vpon

Cyprian.
epist lib. 2.
epist. 3. vel
epist. 63 ad
Cæcil.

Chrysost. ho.
60. ad popul.
& ho. in
psal 95.
Aug. lib. 10.
de ciuit. cap.
20. & lib. de
spiritum &
litera. ca. 11.

In tomo cō-
cil lib 3. de
constit. Ni-
cæn. conc.
constit. 6.

vp^{on} the woords of our sauiour himse^le in his first institution, and oblation therof, when he said to his Apostles representing the whole Church *this is my body which is geuen pro vobis* for you, that is to say, for remission of your sinnes and more playnly, in oblation of the cup, *this is my blood which is shed pro vobis*, or as saynt Math. sayth *pro multis in remissione peccatorum*, for you & for many to the remission of sinnes. for this cause saynt Iames the Apostle in his liturgy saith *offerimus tibi* Wee offer to thee o Lord the vnbloody sacrifice for our sinnes, and the ignorance of the people, and saynt Martial the most ancient martyr who as I haue sayd liued with the Apostles, affirmeth that by the remedy of this sacrifice lyfe is to be geuen vs, & death to be eschewed, and S. Denis a foresaid cauleth it *salutarem hostiam*, the host or sacrifice that geue^t health or saluation, S. Athanasius sayth that the oblation of the vnbloody host is *propitiatio*, a propitiation or remission of sinnes. Origin cauleth it the only commemoration which makes God mercysful to men.

Marth ca. 2

Martial ad Burdegalen

Dionis. lib. 6
Ecclesiast
Hierar. cap.
S. Athana^s
allegat. a Da
malceno. in
serm. pro de
functis.Origen hom
13. in Leuit.
Cyprian de
corn. Domi

S. Cyprian termeth it *medicamentum & holocaustum ad sanandas infirmitates*, & purgandas iniquitates, a medicin & burnt sacrifice for the healing of infirmities and the purging of sinnes.

Ambros. lib
de offic. cap
42

S. Ambrose speaking of the Eucharist sayth that Christ offreth him selfe therin *quasi sacerdos, vt peccata nostra dimittat*, as a Priest that he may forgeue our sinnes.

S. Augustin considering that all the sacrifices of the old law were figures of this sacrifice, (as he often affirmeth,) & that amongst infinit others, there were some that were called *hostiæ pro peccato*, sacrifices for remission of sinne. By the sacrifices saith he, that were offred for sinnes, this one of ours, is signified wherein is true remission of sinne, and to ad somewhat more hereto concerning the custome of Gods Church to offer this sacrifice also as propitiatory for the dead S. Iames the Apostle in his liturgy prayeth to almighty God that the sacrifice may be acceptable vnto him for remission of the peoples sinnes and for the repose of the soules of the dead, also saynt Clement teacheth for a constitution of the

August. in
Leuit. qu. 5Iacobus in
sua liturg.Clement.
const. Apost
lib. 6.

A D E F E N C E

Apostles to offer the holy Eucharist in Churches, and Churchyards for the dead. S. Chrysostome also often affirmeth it for a decree of the Apostles to offer sacrifice for the dead, saying; *it was not rashly decreed by the Apostles that in the most dreadful mysteries there should be commemoration made of the dead, for when the people, & clergy stand with their hands lifted up to heauen, & the reuerend sacrifice set vpon the Altar, how is it possible that praying for them, wee should not pacify the wrath of God towards them.* S. Gregory Nissen in lyke manner proueth the vtility and profit therof, by the authority of the Disciples of Christ that taught & deliuered the custome to the Church as witnesseth saynt Iohn Damascen, who affirming it to be an Apostolical tradition, confirmeth the same with the testimonies of S. Athanasius, and saynt Gregory Nissen.

Tertullian often maketh mention of oblations offered for the dead yerely in their anniuersaries, alcadging it amongst dyuers other for an ancient custome, and vn-written tradition of the Church.

S. Cyprian also mentioneth a constitution made before his tyme that for such as make Priests their executors or tutors to their Children, no oblation or sacrifice should be offered after their death, which statute he ordayned should be executed vpon one called victor that had offended against the same.

S. Cyril Byshop of Hierusalem, hauing spoken of other parts of the sacrifice of the masse, sayth; *then wee pray for all those that are dead, beleeuing that their soules, for whome the prayer of the dreadful sacrifice is offered receiue very great help thereby.*

S. Augustin sayth that according to the tradition of the ancient fathers the whole Church vseth to pray, and offer the sacrifice of the blessed body and blood of Christ for those that are dead, and that it is not to be doubted but that they are helped thereby, and in his book of confessions he signifieth, *that the sacrifice of our redemption, that is to say the blessed body and blood of our Sauour was offered for his mothers soule when shee was dead.*

S. Gregory

S. Gregory the great to declare the excellent effect of the sacrifice of the masse, offred for the dead, telleth of one that being taken prisoner in the warre, and thought to be dead was deliuered on certayne dayes of the weeke of his chaynes, and fetters, which fel from him so oft as his wyfe caused the sacrifice of the masse to bee offred for his soule, and of this S. Gregory taketh witnes of many of his auditors whome (as he sayth) he presumed did know the same.

Homil. 37.
in euangel

The lyke also in euery respect recounteth venerable Bede our countryman in the story of England (which he wrote about 800. yeares agoe) of one Imma seruant to King Elbuin, which Imma being prisoner in the hands of his enemies and chayned, could not be tyed so fast, but that his chaynes fel of once a day, at a certayne hower, when his brother, called Iunna an Abbot, sayd masse for him, thinking he had ben slayne, and this sayth saynt Bede he thought good to put into his history, for that he took it for most certayne, hauing vnderstood it of credible persons that had heard the party tel it to whome yt happened.

Beda Eccle
hist. Angl. l.
4. cap. 22.

To conclude; this custome of offring the blessed sacrifice of the masse for the dead, was inuolably kept in the Church of God, euen from the Apostles tyme without contradiction, vntil Aerius an Arrian heretyke impugned the same & all prayer for the dead about 360. yeres after Christ, for the which he is put in the Catalogue of heretykes by saynt Augustin, & S. Epiphanius, as our aduersaries deserue also to be for teaching and defending the same haresy.

Aug. har. 59
Epipha. haresy
75.

A N A N S V V E R E T O T H E

obiections of our aduersaries out of S. Paules epistle to the Hebrewes, with a declaration that the heretykes of this tyme, who abolish the sacrifice of the Masse, haue not the new Testament of Christ, and that they are most pernicious enemies to humain kynd.

C H A P. XVIII.

B V T now our aduersaries against vs, or rather against these expresse scriptures and Fathers, object some texts and arguments of S. Paule to the Hebrewes, by the which he conuinceth the ignorance, and error of the Iewes who conceaued that their was no other redemption then that which was obtayned by their sacrifices of beasts or of fruits of the earth, *observantes*, sayth S. Augustin, *signa pro rebus ipsis nescientes quo referrentur*, taking the figures or signes of things, for the thinges themselves not knowing whither they were to be referred, and therfore S. Paul proueth that this absolut perfection which they ascribed to their sacrifices, could not be found in the priesthood & sacrifices according to the order of Aaron but in the sacrifice & priesthood according to the order of Melchisedech, which he declareth by euident arguments grounded vpon the vnity and excellency as wel of the priest, and host or sacrifice, as of the act of oblation, shewing the infirmity of the priests by their mortality, plurality and continual necessity to offer dayly, first for their owne sinnes, and after for other men, whereas in the order of Melchisedech, he sayth, there was a priest, that is to say our Sauour Christ, who had an eternal priesthood, and therfore needed no successor, and being vnpolluted and without sinne had no neede to offer sacrifice for himselfe, and so was more fit and worthy to obtayne pardon for the sinnes of the people; and as for the hosts or sacrifices he sheweth also the infirmity thereof,

thereof, for that they were but only of brute beasts, and in that respect could not be of that infinit valew, that was requirit for an absolute and general redemption, whereas the sacrifice in the priesthood of Melchisedech was of infinit price, being the body of our Sauour offred voluntarily by himsele, who was both the sacrifice, & the priest. Lastly he proueth also the insufficiency of the sacrifices, by the continual and dayly oblation therof, for that sayth he, yf they could haue made perfect such as offred them, *cessassent offerri, there would haue ben an end of offering them,* for *vbi est peccatorum remissio, iam nō est oblatio pro peccatis,* Where there is remission of sinnes, there needeth no oblation for sinne. But our Sauour by his sacrifice vpon the crosse, *vnica oblatione consummauit in aeternum sanctificatos, did consummat* or make perfect for euer, all those that are sanctified with one only oblation, for otherwyse, sayth he, he must haue suffred oftentimes, which as wel for the excellent dignity of the priest, as for the infinit valew of the host, was needles. Cap. 8.

Thus argued S. Paule against the Iewes, which our aduersaries do absurdly wrest against the sacrifice of the Masse, saying that the same is wholly ouerthrowen by the same argumets, not only in respect of the multitude of our priests, but also for our dayly oblations, and because wee attribut remission of sinne thereto, which they say, S. Paule ascribeth only to the sacrifice of the crosse. For the full answer and satisfaction of this cauil, it is to be vnderstood, first that S. Paule doth not impugne by these arguments any sacrifice whatsoever, but only the sacrifices of the the priesthood of Aaron, neither yet he impugneth those in such sence that he denyeth them to be true sacrifices, but only proueth by the infirmity thereof, and of the priests that offred them, that they could not suffice for the perfect sanctification, and iustification of man, nor for the general redemption of the world, to which purpose he sayth of the priesthood of Aaron, *if there were,* sayth he, *consumation* or perfection by the leuitical priest-hood, *what needed there to rise* Heb. cap. 7.

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ap iest according to the order of Melchisedech, and agayne, the lābe
 could bring nothing to perfection, but was an introduction to a better
 hope, &c. and speaking of the sacrifice of our Sauour vpon
 the crosse, he sayth that he entered once into the holies, hauing sold
 eternal redemption, not by the blood of goats or calues, but by his
 owne blood, and agayne *With one oblation he did consummat for*
ouer all those that are sanctified; by all which he geueth to vn-
 derstand that where as mankynd was by the faile of our
 Father Adam made a bondman and slaue of sinne, and sub-
 iect to the penalty of eternal dānation he therefore needed
 some effectual meanes as wel to redeeme, and free him
 from this penalty, as also to cleare him from sinne, to san-
 ctify him and iustify him (all which he comprehendeth in
 the woord consummat ion) and this I say, he sheweth, could
 not be performed by the blood of goats and calues, but by
 the blood of a sacrifice of infinit price and valew, that is to
 say of Iesus Christ God and man, who therfore he sayth,
 not only purchased for man euerlasting redemption from
 damnation, but also did consummat or make perfect for
 euer all those that are sanctified, that is to say he pur-
 chased perfection of grace, sanctification and iustification,
 for all those that euer were iust from the beginning of the
 world; or euer shalbe to the end thereof, and therefore
 what benefit soeuer any of the faythful receiued in this
 kynd eyther by any sacrifice or by any good woorke in
 the law of nature, or in the law of Moyses S. Paule attri-
 buteth the same to the merit of Christs sacrifice vpon the
 crosse, for that none were euer iustified before Christ, but
per fidem futura passionis, sicut nos per fidem praterita, by the fayth,
 sayth saint Augustin, of his passion to come as wee are iu-
 stified by the fayth of his passion past, in which respect the
 scripture sayth *agnus occisus est ab origine mūdi*, the lābe was killed
 from the beginning of the world, that is to say, the death of the
 lambe, which was Christ, hath alwayes had his operation
 and effect from the beginning of the woorld: so that S.
 Paules doctrine is no other but that the redemption, iusti-
 fication,

Ibidem.

Hebr. ca 9.

Hebr. 10.

Aug. li. con-
 sessio. 10. cap.

43.
 Apoc. 13.

fication, and saluation of man, cannot be ascribed to the merit of any sacrifice or of all the sacrifices of the old law, but to the merit of the sacrifice of our Sauour vpon the crosse, once offred for all, to the which all other sacrifices haue relation, it being absolute of it selfe, and depending of no other.

But what proueth this against the Catholyks concerning the sacrifice of the masse? doth it proue that it is no sacrifice? or that it is not propitiatory for sinne? nothing lesse; for yf the sacrifices of the priesthood according to the order of Aarō, representing the sacrifice of the crosse, were true sacrifices, though they were but of brute beasts, why may not our sacrifice according to the order of Melchisedech be also a true sacrifice? being not only a far more excellent representation, of the sacrifice of the crosse then the others were, but also the very same in substance, to wit, the blessed body of our Sauour him-selfe, and therefore of infinit pryce, and valew, though neuertheles it was not ordayned for the redemptiō of the world, (as was the bloody oblation of the same body vpon the crosse,) but for an vnbloody representation of that bloody sacrifice, yea and for a perticular application, of the benefit thereof, to all those that should worthely offer it or participat of it.

For it is to be considered that the sacrifice of the crosse was as S. Augustin calleth it a general cup, or vniuersal medicin, proposed to all the world in common, but not applied to any in particuler, the application whereof was left by almighty God to such other meanes as it pleased him to ordayne for that purpose, no les now in the new law, then he did before in the old, as wee see by effect not only in this sacrifice, but also in the sacraments of baptisme and pennance, in fayth, prayer, fasting, almes, and other good woorks, all which are meanes to apply the fruits of our Sauours passiō vnto ys (as our aduersaries do not deny of there special faith, without the which they do not think that the passion of Christ is beneficial to any,) for other-
wyse.

Aug. seu
prosper. in
libel aric.
falso imposs.
artic. 1.

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wyfe it would follow, that all men should be saued a lyke, because Christ dyed for all a lyke.

If therefore there be sacraments, and other meanes to apply the fruit of our sauiours passion vnto vs, without preiudice to the honour therof, why may there not be also a sacrifice to that end, especially such a sacrifice as this, which as I haue sayd is not only a most liuely representation of the other vpon the crosse, but also the very same in substance, though different in the manner of the oblation; and agayn seing the fruit of our Sauiours sacrifice vpon the crosse hath had his cours, effect, and operation from the beginning of the world, as I signified before and yet neuertheles there was both in the law of nature and in the law of Moyse*s* *hostia pro peccato, sacrifice for sinne*. Why may there not now also be a sacrifice for remission of sinnes, especially seing our dayly sinnes, do no lesse require now a dayly remissiō then did the sinnes of those that were vnder the law of Moyse*s*.

This saynt Paule seemeth to insinuate sufficiently in those very woords which our aduersaries do most vrge
Hebr. cap. 8. agaynst this poynt, to wit, *Where there is, remission of sinnes there no oblation or sacrifice for sinne is needful*, where vpon I say it followeth, that where there is not remission of sinne, there needeth sacrifice for sinne.

Therefore to answere our aduersaries, and to explicat this text I say that S. Paule speaketh of such remission of sinne, as was purchased for mankynd in general by the general redemption of all, and not of the particuler application thereof to any, and therefore in that sence he sayth, that the general rancome for sinne being payed, and remission therof being in general procured by the sacrifice of the crosse, it were needles that eyther the same or any such general sacrifice, should be offred agayne; But seing the particuler application therof is needful for the remission of sinne, no lesse now, then it was in the old law, yt foloweth that some sacrifice is now as needful as then it was, where
vpon

vpon Primasius S. Augustins scoller expounding this same
 epistle of saynt Paule to the Hebrewes, sayth; *our Priests do* Primasius
epist. ad
Hebra.
offer sacrifice dayly because wee need dayly to be clenſed, and for as
much as Chriſt cannot dy, he therefore gaue vs the Sacrament of his
body and blood; to the end that as his paſſion was the redemption and
ſaluation of the World that is to ſay of all men in general, ſo alſo
this oblation may be a redemption and clenſing to all thoſe that offer it
in verity, thus ſayth he; geuing to vnderſtand that the be-
 neit of our redemption and remiſſion of ſinne purchaſed
 for all men in general by the ſacrifice of the croſſe, is by
 this other ſacrifice particularly applyed to euery one that
 woorthely offreth theſame, ſo that the dayly iteratiō ther-
 of is noleſſe needful, then conforme to the doctrin of S.
 Paule, who denieth not the ſacrifices of the old law to be
 true ſacrifices becauſe they were dayly offred, but to be, as I
 may tearme it, that redemptory & abſolut ſacrifice, which
 was to be offred but once; wherevpo it followeth that the
 obiections of our aduerſaries out of S. Paule as wel concer-
 ning the multiplicity and ſucceſſion of our Priests, as the
 multitude and iteration of maſſes, are moſt abſurd and fri-
 uolous, for though wee ſhould grant it to bee true (as it is
 moſt falſ) that eyther wee haue ſuch a ſucceſſion or mul-
 tiplicity of Priests or ſuch variety of hoſts and ſacrifices in
 our maſſe as was in the old law, yet S. Pauls argument
 would proue no more againſt vs, then it did againſt the
 Iewes, I meane it would not follow thereon, that the maſſe
 is no ſacrifice, no more then it followeth of the ſame argu-
 ment, that the ſacrifices of the Iewes were not true ſacri-
 fices, which S. Paule neuer denied, but it would follow that
 the maſſe ſhould not be that abſolut and independant ſacri-
 fice which was to redeeme the woorld, the which wee
 deny not and therefore this their obiection out of ſaynt
 Paule proueth nothing but their owne blyndnes, or malice
 that do not or wil not vnderſtand eyther him, or vs, in this
 matter.

But to ſatiſfy this poynt more fully, it is to be conſidered
 that the

Corinth. 7.
2.5.

that the multitude of our Priests doth no more contradict the vnity of Christs priest-hood, then the multitude of Doctors & Pastors in the Church, (by whome he feedeth & teacheth the same) doth contradict the vnity of his Pastoral office and dignity, In which respect saynt Paule sayth *pro Christo legatione fungimur tanquam Deo exhortante per nos*, that is to say we are Embassadours or delegates of Christ; for God, as it were doth exhort by vs.

Cypri. epist.
63. ad cecili-
lium.

To which purpose it is to be vnderstood, that our Priests are not absolute of themselves, and indepédant, as were the Priests in the old law, who succeeded one an other in equal power and dignity, (I meane the high Priests, of whome only S. Paule speaketh) for though Aaron was the first, yet euery successor of his was as absolute as he, and not depédant of him, in which sence saynt Paule calleth them many, because being euery one an absolute head of himselfe, succeeding one an other, they grew in tyme, to a great multitude of heads to whome he therefore opposeth the vnity of Melchisedechs priest-hood consisting in the one and only person of Christ, whose substitutes and ministers our Priests are (and not his successors) offering sacrifice, and executing their function in his name and as S. Cyprian sayth *vice illius, as his Vicars*. And although Christ as head, cheefe Priest, and general Pastor of his Church, doth concur particularly with his members and ministers in the execution of their Priestly and Pastoral charge, yet he doth it in nothing so particularly and properly as in this sacrifice by reason of his true and real presence therein, being not only offered by the Priest but also voluntarily offering himselfe to his Father, *offeratur in bono*, sayth saynt Ambros, *quasi recipiens passionem*, & *offerre seipse quasi sacerdos*, he is offered as man, and as receiuing or suffering his passion. and he offereth himselfe as Priest, in which respect he is both Priest and sacrifice as well now on the altar, as he was in his passion vpon the crosse, though for our greater comfort he vseth also therein the interuention and ministry of Priests, who being nothing els but

Ambros. li. 1.
de officijs. ca.
46.

els but his instruments, and exercysing all one Priestly function, vnder him their head, do all pertayne to that one æternal Priest-hood of Christ according to the order of Melchisedech, which as Lactantius sayth, must of necessity be in the Church. Iesus Christ sayth he, being a Priest did make for him selfe a great æternal temple, that is to say the Church, *in quo templo æternum sacerdotium habeat necesse est secundum ordinem Melchisedech*, in which temple he must needs haue an æternal Priest-hood according to the order of Melchisedech, so that the vnity of Christs priest-hood is not impeached by the multitude of his ministers, no more then the vnity of a Kings monarchy by the multitude of his inferiour officers by whome he gouerneth.

Lactant lib.
4 instit. c 14

And as for the multitude of masses which our aduersaries carp at, as reiected by S. Paule the Fathers of the Church shal answer for vs, S. Chrysostome expounding this epistle of S. Paule answereth this very same obiection that our aduersaries make agaynst vs; This sacrifice sayth he is an example of that sacrifice vpon the crosse, for wee alwayes offer the very selfe same thing, not now one lambe and another to morrow, but the very same; therefore this is one sacrifice; for otherwyse because it is offred in many places, there should be many Christs, thus farre saynt Chrysostome.

Chrys. ho 17
in epist ad
Hebræ.

The very same argument and reason, and the very lyke woords vseth saynt Ambrose to proue the vnity of this sacrifice and concludeth, *non enim aliud sacrificium, sicut pontifex veteris legis sed id ipsum semper offerimus*, We offer not an other or different sacrifice as did the Bishop of the old law, but wee alwayes offer the self same. Also Primasius, the diuinity sayth he, of the sonne of God, which is euery where, doth cause that they be not many sacrifices but one, though they be offred by many, & it causeth in lyke manner that it is that body which was conceaued in the virgins wombe and not many bodies, as also that it is but one sacrifice, and not dyuers, as were the sacrifices of the Iewes, Thus sayth he.

Ambros in
epistol. ad
Hebræ.

Primasius in
9. ad Hebræ.

We read the very same in substance, in Theopylagus, Oecumenius Sedulius, Haymo and others that haue

A D E F E N C E

theophilus
ecumen.
edulius
aymo, in c.
o epist. ad
hebrz.

written vpon saynt Paules epistle to the Hebrewes, of whome the meanest may in any indifferent mannes iudgement, counteruayl all the sectaryes of this tyme, who framing new fantasies of their owne braynes, or reuiuing old hereiyes, are forced for the mayntenance therof to wring and wrest the holy scriptures from the meaning of the holy ghost to their priuat sence, and to cōdemne the iudgement of all the anciēt fathers of the Church; who living in such tymes as these matters were not in controuersy, can not be suspected of parciality, and much lesse of ignorance of the scriptures, seing their learned commentaries and expositions thereof geue sufficient testimony of their continual trauals & labours therein, besydes that their most vertuous lyues led in continual prayer, penance and religious discipline (for the which the Christian world admireth, and honoreth them as great seruants of God and saynts,) is a sufficient argumēt, that God rather assisted them with his spirit in the vnderstāding of the scripture, then Martin Luther, Zwinglius, Beza, Caluin and such other flagitious, and wicked apostatats, whose vicious and leud lyues (whereof the world is yet a witnes) do manifestly declare, with what kynd of spirit, they were possessed.

Therefore he that would leaue the general consent of al the ancient fathers, to follow the phantastical or rather phrenetical opinions of these new fangled fellowes, deserueth to be deceiued, and can haue no excuse of wilful byndnes eyther before God or the world.

But now to conclude this question concerning the sacrifice of the Masse I draw out of all the premisses 4. conclusions.

The first is that, which at the first I vndertook to proue, to wit, that the oblation of the blessed body and blood of our Sauour Iesus Christ (which wee call the Masse) ys the proper sacrifice of the new testament, prophesied by Malachias, prefigured by the sacrifice of Melchisedech, promised, instituted and offered, by our Sauour, practised by his

by his Apostles, and by the Church euer since.

The second is, that it is propitiatory not only for the liuing but also for the dead.

The third, that the heretykes of this tyme that contradict & abolish the same, hold not the law of the new Testament instituted by Christ, seing they haue not the proper priesthood and sacrifice therot, without the which the layd law and Testament cannot be, S. Paule teaching such a necessary concurrence of the one with the other, that he affirmeth, that *the priesthood being translated the law must also of necessity be translated* as I haue shewed before, therefore seeing they haue not this priesthood and sacrifice, it followeth they haue not the law and Testament of Christ, which can not be without the same. Hebr. 7.

The fourth poynt that followeth of the premisses, is that they are most pernicious enemies of humankind, seing they labour to depriue vs, of the most souerain remedy that God of his infinit goodnes hath left vs for the reparation of our dayly wracks by sinne, and for the consolation both of the quick and the dead; for which cause the old Christians in the persecutions vnder Dioclesian, being persecuted for hearing masse, as wee are now (as I haue shewed in the beginning of this treatise) answered the tyrants that the masse was *spes salutisq; Christianorum, the hope and health, or salvation of Christians*, and that therefore they could not forgo it, the reason whereof I haue declared before, to wit, for that therby are applyed vnto vs the fruits of our Saviours passion which is not only represented, but also dayly renewed in the sacrifice of the masse as witnesseth saynt Gregory; so often, sayth he, *as wee offer the host of his passion, so often wee renew his passion*, and as saynt Cyprian sayth, *passio Domini est sacrificium quod offerimus, the sacrifice which wee offer is the passion of our Lord*. Lastly; Martialis the most ancient martir and Disciple of Christ sayth, *that which the Iewes did sacrifice vpon the Altar of the crosse, wee do propose on the sanctified altar for our saluation, knowing that by that only remedy lyfe is to be geuen vs,*

Baron' an.
303. Surius.
11. Februar.

Greg. hom.
37. in euage.
Epist. 63. ad
caecilium.
Epist. ad Bas.
de galensis.

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and death to be eschewed, thus far the blessed martyr. This remedy I say the heretykes of these our dayes doe seek by their pestilent doctrin to take from vs, yea and do in deed depryue vs of it in our country, not only by their doctrine, but also by rigorous and violent lawes, resembling therein as wel the old persecutors of Gods Church that did the lyke, as also Antichrist that is to come, who as Daniel the Prophet fortelleth shal take a way *iuge sacrificium, the continual sacrifice of the Church*, which is the sacrifice of the masse) and the ancient Byshop and martyr Hypolitus doth testify in his book of the consummation of the world, that in the tyme of Antichrist, *Churches shal be lyke cottages, and that the precious body and blood of Christ shal not be in those dayes, the liturgy shal be taken away, the singing of the Psalmes shal cease and the reading of the scripture shal not be heard*, thus farre saynt Hypolitus, that wrote within 250. yeares after Christ.

Seing then the Calvinists, and Lutherans abolish the sacrifice of the masse, yea and bring christian religion to a very desolation and ruine, ouerthrowing altars, churches, monasteries, images, relickes of saynts, the signe of the crosse, sacraments, ceremonies and all external memories, and monuments of christianity, and in steed of the blessed body and blood of our sauour, bring into the church nothing but a bare signe therof, what els are they but true figures, or the forerunners of Antichrist, that shal set vp the *abomination of desolation in the temple of God*, as sayth the Prophet, that is to say, shal bring an abominable desolation vpon the Church and true religion of Christ?!

OVR

O V R D O C T R I N O F T H E

merits of woorkes and Iustification, is proued and cleared, from the slanders of our aduersaries, commonly publyshed in their Sermons, and lately insinuated in a book set forth, concerning the conuiction of my Lord of Essex.

CAP. XIX.

FO R as much as my intention in this treatise was to detect and confute, certayn slanderous lyes of our aduersaryes, spread abroad agaynst vs in some of theyr late bookes and lybels, no lesse touching matter of religion, then matter of state, I can not forbear to discouer vnto thee here good reader, their notable impudency in charging vs to be enemies of the Passion of Christ, and to euacuate the merits therof, by ascribing our saluatiō to our owne workes, which they are wount to publish in their sermons, and common table talke, and haue of late insinuated in a pamphlet concerning the conuiction of my Lord of Essex, wherein treating of Sir Christofer Blunt, that he protested to dy a Catholyke, some foolish minister (I think) foysted in an aparenthesis, signifying that he dyed not such a Catholyk, but that he hoped to be saued by the merits of Christs passion, not ascribing his saluation to his owne workes; as though other Catholykes that teach merits of workes, did not hope to be saued by the passion of Christ, wherein I know not whether I should wounder more at their ignorance, or their malice; their ignorance if they know not what we hold, and their malice if they know it, and yet slander vs.

For who knoweth not, that wee acknowledge the blessed passion of our Sauour to be the root and ground of our redemption, and reconciliation to God, and the fountayne from whence floweth all our iustification, and salua-

Pet. c. 1
p ad Rom.
pp. 5.

1st 4.
Salm. 129.

1st 2.

Ep. ad Hebr.

Ep. ad Rom.
cap. 2.

Ep. Iacob c. 2

Math. cap. 7.

saluation, saying with S. Peter that *We are redeemed with the precious blood of Christ the immaculat lambe*, and with S. Paule that *wee are iustified in his blood*, & *shalbe saued from wrath by him*, and that *there is no other name wherein wee can be saued*, but *the name of I E S V S*; neuerthelesse wee know withall that though his passion, be most meritorious, & the redemption that wee haue therby most copious, yet it was his wil that wee shuld doe somewhat of our parts, to haue the benefit therof, which our aduersaries cannot but grant, confessing as they doe, that to be partakers therof they must be baptised, they must beleue, they must repēt after they haue sinned, & seeing vpon the warrāt of the holy scriptures they ad all this to the passion of Christ, without derogation to the dignity therof, what reason haue they to blame vs, if vpon the same warrant we ad another condition no lesse expresse in scripture then any of the rest, seeing our sauour himselte sayth, *if thou wilt enter into lyfe keepe the commandments*, to which purpose S. Paule also sayth, *omnibus obtemperantibus sibi factus est causa salutis*, that is to say, *he was made a cause of saluation to all such as obey him*, and in another place, *the doers of the law shalbe iustified before God, and not the hearers only*, and S. Iames, *wee think a man to be iustified by workes, and not by faith only*, and our Sauour himselte; *not euery one*, sayth he, *that sayth to mee Lord, Lord, shal enter into the kingdome of beauen, but he which doth the wil of my Father*, by all which wee see that good workes are necessary to saluation, and must concurre therto, with the merits of Christs passion, which being the root & fountayne of all mannes merit, giueth as it were lyfe and force, both to fayth, and also to the good workes of faythful men to make them meritorious before God, wherein three things are to be noted, for the better explication of this matter.

The first is; that there is two manners of iustification, the one, the iustification of the wicked man be he infidel or christian in mortal sinne, the other the iustification of the iust man, or an increase of Iustice; the first proceedeth merely

rely of the grace of God without merit of workes, for that it is not in the power of nature being auerted and alienat from God to conuert it selfe vnto him, without his grace & vocation, & therfore S. Paule worthely excludeth frō the first iustificatiō both of the Iewes, & the gentils all merit of man. The second, which is the iustification of the iust man, or encrease of iustice, is procured by good woorkes proceeding of Gods grace, without the which their can be no iustification, and therfore the Catholikes do teach not only the precedence of Gods grace before euery good woork, according to that of the prophet *miseri-*
cordia eius praueniet me, his mercy shal preuent or goe before me, but also the concurrence therof, according as S. Paule sayth, *non ego sed gratia Dei mecum*, not I but the grace of God with me, and as our Sauour sayth, *sine me nihil potestis facere*, without me you can do nothing, and agayne S. Paule, *omnia possum in eo qui me confortat*, I can do all things in him that strengthneth or comforteth me;

Roman. 8.
3. 5.

Psalme. 38.

1. Cor. ca. 1.

Ioan. 15.

ad Philip. 4.

Roman. 3.
3. 5.

2. Cor. cap. 1.

Epist. Iacob
cap. 2.

Autor operi
imperfecti
Math.

Aug. de Fide
& operibus
cap. 14.

Of the first iustification S. Paule sayth in diuers places that wee are iustified gratis, freely or for nothing, by the grace of God, by sayth, and not by woorkes, as meritorious, and of the second he sayth (speaking of the effect of almes) yt shal multiply your seed, and shal augment the increase of the fruit of your iustice; and saynt Iames, a man sayth he is iustified by woorkes and not by sayth only, and saynt Iohn, he which doth iustice is iust, and in the Apocalipse, he which is iust let him be iustified stil, and of both these iustifications, sayth the autor of the imperfect woorke vpon S. Mathew, the first iustice is to know God the Father, and Christ his sonne, and the last iustice is to do good woorkes, finally S. Augustin witnesseth, that for as much as there were some that taught in the very tyme of the Apostles that sayth without woorkes might suffice to saluation, (which error he sayth did grow of the corrupt, & il vnderstanding of saynt Pauls Epistles,) S. Peter, S. Iohn, S. Iames, and S. Iude did expressely direct their intentions in their Epistles to proue the necessity of good woorkes,

R

and Iu-

and iustification therby, and thus much for the first poynt.

2. The second poynt that I wish to be noted is, that where woorkes are at any tyme excluded in the scriptures, Fathers, or counsels from iustification, it is alwayes to be vnderstood eyther of woorkes done by the only force of nature before fayth, or of woorkes of the law of Moyse, proceeding only of the force of the law, or of woorkes of the faythful not proceeding of Gods grace.

3. The third poynt is, that all the reason of merit in mānes fayth, or woorkes proceedeth of two grounds, the one the grace of God, which moueth & enableth a man therto; the other the promisse of almighty God to reward the same in both which the merits of Christs passion are euer presupposed to be the first foundation of all the buylding; with which presupposition our Sauour sayth, *he which geues but a cup of cold water in my name shal not loose his reward,* and agayne to his Disciples *your reward is copious in heauen,* & speaking of the Iudgement at the later day, he playnly ascribeth the reward of lyfe euerlasting to woorkes, saying, *come yee blessed of my Father and possesse the Kingdome prepared for you for when I was hungry you gaue me to eate, when I was naked you clothed me, &c.* And therefore S. Iohn, and S. Paule say, *God wil render vnto euery one according to his woorkes,* to this purpose also the Prophet Dauid sayth, *I enclyned my hart, o Lord, to do thy iustifications for reward,* and S. Paule I haue sayth he fought a good fyght, I haue kept my fayth, I haue consummated or ended my course, & now there is layed vp for me the croune of iustice, which our Lord the iust Iudge wil render me in that day; vpon these words of S. Paule

O Ecumenius sayth, *consider that he craues it as due when he sayth reddet mihi & non dabit, he wil render it vnto me, and not he wil giue it me, which he also signifieth in that he cauleth him the iust iudge:* Theophilactus also sayth the same, vpon the same words, and concludeth thus, *the croune is a debt by reason of the iustice of the iudge,* S. Augustin alcadging the same place of S. Paule

Math. 10.
& Marc 9.

Matth. 5.
& Luc 6.

Math. 25.

Apoc. 22.
Rom. 2.

Epist 2. ad
Timoth. c. 4.

Oecumenius in
ea verba ep.
2. ad timoth.
cap. 4.

Theophilac.
in 2. Timoth.
cap. 4.

S. Paule in his book of grace and free wil, sayth, *he now rehearseth merita sua bona, his good deserts or merits, that he which after his ill deserts got grace, may after his good merits get the crowne, &c.* but let vs heare concerning this matter of merit, some two or 3. about king Lucius tyme, S. Ignatius disciple to saynt Iohn the Euangelist, sayth in his epistle to the Romans, being condemned to be deuoured of wild beasts, *suffer me to be the food or meat of beasts that I may promereri Deum, gaine, or as a man may say earne almighty God.* Tertullian sayth, *how at their many mansions in the Fathers house, but according to the variety of mens merits,* and Clemens Alexandrinus; *there are sayth he many mansions according to the worthinesse and merits of those which beleene, and* origen teacheth, *that God doth not giue according to nature, but according to merits,* S. Cyprian sayth, *that a penitent man, promeretur Dominum, obsequijs suis & operibus iustis, doth deserue, or as I sayd before earne our Lord with his obedience and iust woorkes,* and in his book of the vnity of the Church, speaking of them that hauing donne great miracles in the name of Christ, shalbe reiected of him at the day of Iudgment, he sayth, *iustice or righteousness is needful, vt promerere quis possit Deum iudicem, that a man may gaine God the iudge, which in the words next folowing he expoundeth, saying preceptis eius & monitis obtemperandum est vt merita nostra accipiant mercedem, Wee must obey his precepts and admonitions that our merits may receiue reward;* thereto I wil ad S. Augustin explicating notably this questiō according to our Catholyk sayth euer taught in the Church of God, *when grace, sayth he, is geuen then begin also our good merits by the meanes of that grace, for yf grace be taken away man doth presently fal head-long by his owne free wil, therefore when a man beginneth to haue good merits, he ought not to attribute them vnto himselfe, but to God, to Whome it is sayd in the Psalme, o Lord be my healer, and do not forsake me, &c.* Thus farre S. Augustin but to auoyd the multitude of allegations, which might be infinit to this purpose, I wil conclude with the secōd council of Aurange celebrated 1200.

Aug. de gra.
& libero ar-
bi. cap. 6.

Igar. epist. 2.
Roman.

Tertul in
scorpiaco.

Clemens
Alex. 6. stro-
mat.

Orige 1 b. 2.
in epist. ad
Roman.

Cyprian.
epist. 24 ad
Presb. &
diacon vel li-
3. epist. 13.

S. Augustin
geueth also
the same in-
terpretation
of multar,
mansiones
tractatu 6. 7.
in euang. Jo.

Cyprian. lib
de vnitare
Ecclesie.

Aug. de gra-
tia & libero
arbitrio ca 6.

ant. Ant.
anum, le-
ndum,
ano. 16.

yerer agoe, reward sayth the councel, is due to good worker, if they bee donne, but grace which is not due, or given by desert, doth goe before, that they may be donne.

Thus thow seest good reader the doctrin of Catholykes concerning merit or good woorkes, conforme to the scriptures and fathers, and no way preiudicial to the dignity & honour of our Sauours passion, but most honorable to the same, seing wee teach that all good merits receiue their vigour and force from the merits therof, he hauing therby obtayned for vs of his father, not only remission of sinne, but also grace to doe works acceptable to him and meritorious of eternal saluation, which woorkes though they be ours in respect of the concurrence of our free wil yet for as much as they be his gifts in that they proceede of his grace they deserue the reward that he hath promised for the same, & therefore respecting any woorkes of man whatsoever as of them-selues, wee say with saynt Paule, that *the passions or sufferings of this lyfe are not worthy of the future glory that shalbe reueyled in vs*, but considering the same as the gyfts of God, and ennobled with his grace, wee say also with him, that *the shors and light tribulation which wee suffer here, doth worke an eternal weight of glory in vs*.

Therefore I wil end with S. Augustin, saying that *when God doth croune our merits, he doth croune his owne gyfts*, seing then, this is the vniforme doctrin of all Catholykes, wherin do we derogate any thing from the passion of Christ, or arrogate ourselues, to our owne woorkes more then the scripture doth giue vs warrant for.

THAT

THAT OUR ADVERSARIES

who affirme that we derogat from the merits of Christs passion do themselves wholly euacuat, and frustrat the same, by their most wicked, and absurd doctrine of imputative iustice, and dyuers other poynts confuted in this chapter.

CAP. XX.

BV T now let vs examine the opinion of these fellows, that seeme to be so ielous of the honour of Christ and of his passion, and I dout not wee shall fynd that they do vtterly obscure and frustrat the same, for where as our Sauour Christ gaue himselfe to death, as S. Paule sayth, *to the end he might redeeme vs from iniquity, and make vs cleane from sinne, and a people acceptable to himselfe, and followers of good woorkes*, they teach expressely that he hath performed nothing of all this. For though they grant that he redeemed vs from death, and by his passion purchased vs lyfe euerlasting, yet they confesse not, that he redeemed or made vs cleane from sinne (as we see S. Paule teacheth) but playnly affirme the contrary, saying, that original sinne is not taken away by baptisme, nor any other sinne after baptisme remitted, but couered, and not imputed; in so much that they teach further as a necessary consequent therof, that the workes of the most iust man, are not only infected with sinne, but also sinnes of themselves, deseruing eternal damnation & that therefore there is no righteousness or iustice really in man, but only in Christ, and imputed to man; whervpon it must needs follow, that the fall of Adam our father, was of more force to make vs sinners, then the passion of our Sauour to free vs from sinne, and to make vs iust, which is no lesse dishonorable to Christ then contrary to expresse scripture, where S. Paule saith, *that as by the disobedience of one (Adam) many were*

Tit. 2.

Caluinus lib. 2. instit. ca. 17.
Lutherus lib. de libertate Christiana & in assertionem art. 2. 31. 32. & 16. contra Iulianum & Augustinum. artic. 6.

Caluinus lib. 2. instit. cap. 12.
Luther. ad 2. ad Galat.

Rom. 5.

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made sinners, so by the obedience of one (Christ) many were made iust; if then we were truly sinners by Adam, wee are also truly iust by Christ, or els our help is not equiualent to our harme, nor our remedy to our disease; nor our rising to our falle, nor our gayne to our losse, nor consequently Christ to Adam, which were impiety to thinke, and blasphemy to say, and yet so must our aduersaries be forced to say if they wil defend their opinion; but for as much as not only this their absurd doctrin of imputatiue iustice, but also diuers other execrable errors, or rather damnable heresies spring all out of one root, that is to say the foresayd opinion that original sinne is not cleane remitted, and taken away by baptisme, I wil by the confutation therof ouerthrow all the rest that depend thereon, and shew withall the dishonour they doe to Christ, and his merits which they seeme so much to esteeme.

Let vs then consider the effects of baptisme in the regenerat, which to spake generally are two, the one the remission of sinnes, and the other a regeneration, or renouation of the inward man, of the first the Prophet Ezechiel sayth, *I wil powver vpon you a cleane water, and you shalbe cleansed from all your filth, or corruption,* in which sence the Apostle cauleth it; *the water of lyfe wherewith Christ sanctifyeth and maketh cleane his Church,* and speaking of the baptised that had ben fornicators, and Idolaters, *these yow were sayth he, but now yow are washed, yow are sanctified, yow are iustified,* by which text S. Chrysostom, and S. Hierome proue that all sinnes are forgeuen in baptisme, & the reason is, for that by the vertue therof the ful merits of Christs death and passion, are communicated vnto vs, in which respect, saynt Paule sayth that *all that are baptised in Christe, are baptised in his death,* and that *wee are therby buried with him to death of sinne,* whereof S. Augustin sayth *as in Christe there was a true death, so there is in vs a true remission of sinne,* which cannot be denyed, except wee wil deny the vertue and force of the blessed blood, and death of Christ which hath his operation therby, wherof the Apo-

Ezechiel.

ap. 16.

ad Ephes. 5.

ad titum. 3.

Cor. 6.

Chryso. in

rom. ad bap.

hier. in epist.

ad oceanum.

rom. 6.

Colossen. 2.

Aug. in Eu-

geli cap. 52.

the Apostle sayth, he reconcyled us by his death, that he might make vs holy, and immaculat, and irreprehensible before him, and in an other place making a comparison betwixt the effects of the sacrifices of Christ vpon the crosse, and the sacrifices of the old law, he sayth, but how much more shal the blood of Christ make cleane our conscience from dead woorkes (that is to say from sinne) to serue the liuing God: to this purpose sayth saynt Iohn, *sanguis Iesu Christi emundat nos ab omni peccato*, the blood of Iesu Christ doth make vs cleane from all sinne, in which respect our Sauour Christ is truly cauled the Lamb of God which taketh away the sinnes of the world.

Colof. 1.
ad Hæbr. 9.

Therefore saynt Chrysostome sayth that a man newly baptyfed is *mundior solis radijs*, cleaner then the beames of the sunne, and compareth the sinne of the baptised to a sparke of fyre, falling into the mayne sea, wherein it is presently extinguished, S. Basil cauleth it a remission of debt, and the death of sinne. S. Gregory Nazianzen rearmeth it *peccati diluuium* the deluge wherein sin is drowned, (and lastly not to be tedious, with many allegations, in a matter where in all learned fathers doe vniformly agree) S. Augustin sayth *baptisme* washeth away all sinnes, yea all whatsoever, of deeds, thoughts, words, of original sinne, or other committed ignorantly or wittingly, and in an other place he sayth, yt doth *auferre crimina*, non radere, take sinnes cleane away, and not shauethem only.

Ioan. 1 in
homil ad
Baptizan.

Basil. in ex-
hortat. ad
Baptif.

Angl. lib. 3.
contra duas
epist. pelagii
norum ca. 34.

Lib. 1. contra
eandem epist.
cap. 13.

What then shal wee say of Luther, and his fellowes that deny such a manifest principle of Christian religion, affirming that original sinne is not taken away by baptisme, but that it remayneth & infecteth all mennes workes can any thing be sayd more to the derogation of Christs merits, on which they wil seeme sometymes wholly to rely? can their other heresy concerning the necessity of sinne, the impossibility to keepe the commandments, the sinful or stayned righteousness of the iustest man, or yet their imputative iustice, all grounded and necessarily depending vpon the rotten foundation of this pestilent opinion, can they I say, be lyke to stand when their foundation fayleth,

sayleth, as yow see: but this will be more euident, yf we cō-
 sider the other effect of Baptisme, which is regeneration,
 or renouation of the soules wherof the Prophet sayth,
 I wil geue yow a new hart and a new spirit, in which respect
 the Apostle cauleth Baptisme *lauacrum regenerationis*, and re-
 nouationis, the water of regeneration, and renouation, for that as
 our Sauour himself signified a man is borne a new by water,
 & the holy ghost, & becometh as saynt Paule sayth *noua crea-*
tura a new creature by grace of the holy spirit which is aboun-
 dantly poured vpon him, to which purpose the Apostle sayth
 that charity is diffused in our harts, by the holy ghost which is giuen
 vs, and that Christ dwelleth in our harts, and that wee liue for in-
 iustification, for that the spirit of God dwelleth in vs, all which proue
 a real and inhxrent iustice in vs, and not a iustice in Christ,
 imputed only to vs, this the Apostle signifyeth by the simi-
 litude of Baptisme with the death & resurrection of Christ
 saying that wee are buried with him by baptisme to the end that as
 Christ did rise from death, so wee may walke in newnes of lyfe,
 vpon which words, S. Augustin sayth, as in Christ there was a
 true resurrection, so in vs there is a true iustification, and S. Chri-
 stosome proueth thesame by the woords of S. Paule,
 (where he sayth, *you are washed, you are sanctified, you are iusti-*
fied) he sheweth sayth he, that you are not only made cleane,
 but also that you are made holy and iust, to which purpose he
 noteth that it is cauled *lauacrum regenerationis*, and not remis-
 sionis or purificationis, the water of regeneration, and not of remis-
 sion or purification, for sayth he, it doth not simply remit sinnes, but
 makes vs as though wee were of a heauenly generation, which Cle-
 mens Alexandrinus confirmeth saying being baptised we are
 illuminated, being illuminated we are adopted to be the childre of God,
 being adopted wee are made perfect, being persited wee are made im-
 mortal, according to that of the Psalmist, I say you are all Gods, and
 the children of the highest. The same also in effect sayth S.
 Gregory Nazianzen Baptisme sayth he, giuing help to our first
 nativity, of old makes vs new, and of human deuine, all which doth
 playnly proue that which we teach, with saynt Augustin, who

Ezech. 36.

Tit. 3.

Rom. 3.
Galat 6.Tit. 9.
Roma. 5.
A & 15.
Rom. 8.

Rom. 6.

Aug. in En-
chir. cap. 52.Cor. 6.
Chrysost.
hom. ad Bap-
tisma. 3.Clem. Alex.
1. 1. padag.
p. 6.
Psalm. 81.
in o. st. in
sanctum ba-
ptisma.De peccato-
rum meritis
& remissione
cap. 9. lib. 1.

who sayth the grace of ^{ed} doth worke inwardly our illumination, and iustification, neuertheles wee deny not that the iustice wherwith wee are made iust, is the iustice of God by whose grace we haue it, but we deny that it is not ours, & really in vs, when he hath of his great mercy, and liberality geuen it vs, so that we say it is both his and ours, his, because he giues it, & ours, because wee haue it by his gift. Therefore saynt Augustin sayth, *let no Christian man feare to say that we are made iust, not by our selues but by the grace of God, working the same in vs.* In this sence Elizabeth and Zacharias were called iust in the scripture, of whome wee read, *that ambo erant iusti, they were both iust, not before men only, but ante Deum before God* and not because Iustice was imputed to them, but because they did walke in omnibus mandatis & Iustificationibus Domini sine querela, in all the commaundments & Iustifications of our Lord without blame, in this sence also it is said in the scripture, *the doers of the law are iustified before God, not the hearers only,* which saynt Iohn confirmeth, forewarning as it were and arming vs, against these seducers, (for so he tearmeth all those which teach that a man is not iust by really doing the acts, or works, of iustice,) *let no man sayth he seduce you, he which doth Iustice or righteousnes ys iust, as God is iust, he which doth sinne, is of the diuel, to this end appeared the sonne of God, that he might dissolve the workes of the deuil: thus farre S. Iohn.*

If then the comming of our Sauour, and his suffering was to dissolve the workes of the diuel, which is sinne, and (as is signified in infinit other places of scripture,) to redeeme vs from iniquity, to deliuer vs from the seruitude of sinne, to renew vs in spirit, to make vs new creatures, to cleanse vs, to sanctify vs, to iustify vs, that is to say to make vs iust, yea to make vs immaculate, and irreprehensible, to make vs his ^a temples his ^b friends, his ^c children, how is this performed, yf notwithstanding the merits of his passion applyed vnto vs by Baptisme, and other meanes, wee are only reputed to be iust, and not so in deed, but remaine stil soyled with sinne, bondmen of iniquity, and

S
children

De spiritu
littera ca. 19
Luc. 1.

Luc. 1.

Rom. 2.

1. Iohn. 3.

Tit. 2.

Rom. 6.

Ezech. 36.

Tit. 1. colof. 1.

1. Cor. 3.

1. Iohn. 15.

Rom. 8.

1. Iohn. 3.

A D I V E R S E

children of the diuel (as S. Iohn sayth we are if wee be in sinne) how can we say that Christ conquered the deuill and sinne, and deliuered vs from the seruitude and bondage of them both if we remayn slaues of both? for being bondmen of sinne, as Luther makes vs, wee are also slaues of the diuel by consequent, and can it be any derogation to the merits of our Sauours passion, to say that he made vs (who were before thralls & captiues to both the deuill and sinne) able to vanquish, and conquer them both? nay is it not far more glorious to him to conquer them dayly in vs and by vs, then if he had only once conquered them for vs? for by making such weak ones, as wee, tread them vnder our feet, his conquest and triumph is farre more glorious, his mercy to vs more manifest, his enemies & ours more confounded, and wee infinitely more obliged, and therefore wee may say with saint Paulc, *Deo gratias qui dedit nobis victoriam, God be thanked which gaue vs victory*, but how by our selues no; *per Dominum Iesum Christum, by our Lord Iesus Christ.*

1. Cor. cap. 5.

Thus thou seest good reader how consonēt to the scriptures how glorious to our Sauour, & how comfortable to vs is our doctrine concerning iustification, and merits of workes, & on the other syde how erronious, and iniurious to his passion is the opinion of our aduersaries who to the end they may with better colour and more boldly bark against good woorkes, and the merit therof, seeme to haue in singular estimation the merits of his passion; But where the full force and true effect therof is to be shewed to Gods greater glory, to the confusion of our enemy the diuel, and our singular comfort, there they hold it to be of no force or vallew, yea rather they make it a cloke to couer sinne then a meanes to cleanse it, and to take it away, and so they establish in the kingdome of Christ, the tyrannie of the diuel, whose instruments and proctors they shew themselves to be, woorking in mennes myndes by their doctrine, that which the diuel doth woork by temptation, that is
to say

to say discouraging all men from doing well, and from keeping the commandments, by teaching the same to be needlesse, impossible, and of no merit, whereby they give full scope to sensuality, and sinne, and carry men after their headlong to hel as I could make it most euident yf I list to prosecute this poynt, which my purposed breuity wil not permit.

THE CONCLVSION CON-

uincing by the premisses, that our Catholyk doctrine, was deliuered to King Lucius, by Pope Eleutherius, and is the vndoubted truth, that Christ left to his Church, with a note of the notable impudency of our English ministers.

CHAP. XXI.

NOW to returne to King Lucius and to conclude, I doubt not good reader but thou hast perceiued by these few poynts which I haue handled, what hath alwayes bin the doctrine of the Church of God concerning the same, and that therefore King Lucius could receiue no other from the Catholyke Roman Church by the which he was conuerted to the Christian faith, and yf I thought it needful to rip vp euery other particuler point controuersed betwixt our aduersaries and vs, I could easely shew the same in euery one.

But what needeth it? seeing they cannot proue that any Pope, I wil not say from S. Eleutherius to S. Gregory, but from S. Peter to Clement the eight that now gouerneth the Church, hath taught, and decreed any different doctrine from his predecessors, whereas on the other syde wee shew euidently that in a perpetual succession of our

Roman Bishops, there hath ben also a continual succession of one, & the selfe same doctrin, where vpon it followeth infailibly that King Ethelbert, and the English could not receiue from S. Gregory the Pope any other sayth then King Lucius and the britans receiued from saynt Eleutherius, and that wee which now hold communion with the Roman Church teach no other doctrin then that which was taught by them to our ancessors, and hath successiuelly come from S. Peter, & consequently from our Sauour Christ.

Therefore thou mayst wel wonder, good reader, at the impudency of our English ministers, that are not ashamed to preache & teach the contrary, wherby thou mayst also see how lamentable is the case of our poor country wherein such haue the charge, and cure of soules, as haue not so much as common honelty to say the truth in matters as cleare as the Sunne, and teach such a religion as for lack of better reasons, and arguments, they are forst to maintayne it with manifest lyes, flanders, yea and murders of innocent men, whome they execute for fayned crimes vnder colour of matter of state, acknowledging thereby sufficiently the truth of our Catholyk sayth seing they are ashamed to auow that they trooble any man for it, whyles they confesse that they punish and put to death heretykes, namely the Anabaptists, directly for their religion, and their impudency is so much the more notorious, for that their publyk proceedings in the dayly execution of penal and capital lawes, touching only matter of religion, doth contradict and conuince their sayings and writings, wherein they affirme that they put none to death for religion.

But for as much as I haue treated this matter at large in diuers partes of my Apology, besydes that I vnderstand that some others also entend to treat thereof in the answere of a ridiculous challenge, made by O. E. fraught

fraught with most absurd paradoxes, as wel concerning this poynt, as others touching our Catholyke fayth, I remit thee, good reader, therto, and so conclude this treatys, beseeching almighty God to geue our aduersaries the light of his grace, and vs in the meane tyme patience and constancy, and to thee indifferency to iudge of maters so much importing the eternal good and saluation of thy soule, which I hartely wish no lesse then my owne.

F I N I S.



A T A B L E O F
T H E C H A P T E R S
O F T H I S T R E A -
T I S E.

TH E preface, wherein are declared the causes of the long delay of printing the *Apology*, and wit hall is noted the impudency of a late wryter in England disguysing his name with the letters O.E. who auoweth the fiction of Squires employment for a truth and affirmeth that none are put to death in England for religion. An *Answer* to two malicious slanders, auouched in the foresayd libels concerning the conquest of England, falsely supposed to be pretended, & sollicitated, by the Catholyks, &

A Table of the chapters

- lyks, & touching the late enterprise of the King of Spayne
in Ireland. Also concerning sir VVilliam Stanley, and the
Iesuits, calumniated by the lybellers. CHAP. 1.
2. Concerning father Parsons in particular, and that the ex-
treame malice that the heretyks beare him, is an euident
argument of his great vertue. CHAP. 2.
3. That the Catholykes are persecuted & martyred now in En-
gland for the same causes that the martyrs dyed in the
primatiue Churche, and of the great iniustice donne to
two Priests, condemned at Lincolne by Iudge Gland-
uile. CHAP. 3.
4. Of the impudēcy of a minister, who being present at the death
of the two martyrs aforesaid, affirmed publykly that our
country was conuerted by saynt Augustin the monk,
to the protestants religion, by occasion where-of the
truth of that poynt is euidently declared.
CHAP. 4.
5. Of the first conuersion of our country, whyles it was called
Britany, in the tyme of King Lucius, with euident proofes,
that our Catholyk fayth was then preached and planted
there. CHAP. 5.
6. The same is cōfirmed & proued out of Gildas the sage. CA. 6.
7. Certayne poynts of controuersy are discussed whereby it is
proued that King Lucius receiued our Catholyke fayth
and first of the Popes supremacy in Ecclesiastical causes.
CHAP. 7.
8. That our Saniour made S. Peter supreme head of the
Churche. CHAP. 8.
9. That the successors of saynt Peter to wit, the Bishops of Rome
succeed him in the supremacy of the Churche. CHAP. 9.

That

Of this treatyse.

- That the Bishops of Rome exercised supreme authority in
the tyme of King Lucius. CHAP. 10. 10.
- The matter of holy Images is debated, and the vse thereof
proued to haue ben in the Churche of God euer since our
Sauours tyme. Chap. 11. 11.
- The commandment of God touching Images is explicated, &
the practise of the Churche declared. Chap. 12. 12.
- Concerning the relicks of saynts and the reuerend vse
thereof. Chap. 13. 13.
- That our doctrine concerning the sacrifice of the Masse was
generally receiued, and beleued in the tyme of King
Lucius, and first that it was foretold, and prophesied by
Malachias. Chap. 14. 14.
- That not only the sacrifice of Melchisedech, but also all the
sacrifices of the old law were figures of the sacrifice of the
masse, and are changed into the same, and by the way, is
declared the necessity of sacrifice, as wel for common
welth, as for religion. Chap. 15. 15.
- That our Sauour Christ instituted and offered at his last
supper the sacrifice of his blessed body, and blood, proued
by his owne woords, & by the expositions of the Fathers,
with a declaration how he is sacrificed in the masse; and
lastly that he gaue commission and power to his Disciples
to offer his body and blood in sacrifice, that is to say to
say the Masse. Chap. 16. 16.
- That the Apostles practised the commission geuen them by
our Sauour sacrificing, or saying Masse them-selues, and
leauing the vse and practise thereof unto the Churche, &
that the ancient Fathers not only in King Lucius tyme,
but also for all the first 500. yeares after Christ taught
it to 17.

A Table of the Chapters.

- it to bee a true sacrifice, and propitiatory for the living, & for the dead. Chap. 17.
18. An answer to the obiections of our aduersaries out of S. Pauls epistle to the Hebrewes, with a declaration that the heretyks of this tyme that abolish the sacrifice of the Masse, haue not the new testamēt of Christ, and that they shew themselves to be most pernicious enemies of humain kynd. Chap. 18.
19. Our doctrine of the merits of woorks, and Iustification is proued, and cleared, from the slanders of our aduersaries, commonly published in their sermons, and lately insinuated in a book set forth concerning the conuiction of my Lord of Essex. Chap. 19.
20. That our aduersaries who affirme that wee derogate from the merits of Christs passion, do them-selues wholly euacuat, and frustrat the same, by their most wicked, and absurd doctrine of imputatiue iustice and concerning original sinne, and diuers other points confuted in this chapter. Chap. 20.
21. The conclusion conuincing by the premisses that our Catholyke doctrine was deliuered to King Lucius by Pope Eleutherius, and is the vndoubted truth that Christ left to his Church, with a note of the notable impudēcy of our English ministers. Chap. 21.



**AN APOLOGY
OF T. F. IN DEFENCE
OF HIMSELF AND OTHER
CATHOLYKS, FALSLY CHARGED WITH A
fayned conspiracy agaynst her Maiesties person, for the
which one Edward Squyre was wrong-fully condemned
and executed in the yeare of our Lord 1598. wherein are
discovered the wicked, and malicious practises of some in-
ferior persons to whose examination the causes of Ca-
tholykes are commonly committed, and their iniurious
manner of proceeding, not only against thesayd Squyre
but also agaynst many Catholykes that haue ben
vniustly condemned for lyke fayned con-
spiracies, against her maiesty
and the state.**

*Written in the yeare of our Lord 1599. and dedicated to
the right honorable the Lords of her mayesties priuie
council.*

Ecclesiast. cap. 3. 5. 16.

*Vidi sub sole in loco iudicij iniquitatem, & in loco iu-
stitiæ impietatem.*

*I haue scene vnder the Sunne iniquity in place of iudgement, and im-
piety in place of iustice.*



Imprinted with licence 1602.

AN APOLOGY

OF THE INDIFFERENCE

OF THEMSELVES AND OTHER

CATHOLICS, TOWARDS THE CHARGES WITH A

VIEW TO THE CONVICTION OF THE

ACCUSED, AND THE REPROBATION OF THE

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AN ADVERTIS-

MENT TO THE

READER ABOUT A FOR-

MER ANSWERE OF M.

M. Ar.



After I had set downe to my self this defence or Apologie in the forme that here it goeth, there came to my hâdes a certayne breif pamphlet written in Rome by M. Mar. Ar. presentlie vpon the execution of Squier in England, which confutation thoughte for the substance of the matter it seemed to me very sufficient to giue any man satisfaction by shewing the whole matter of Squyers accusatiō, condēnation, and execution to be a very fiction and deuised for certayne endes which there are touched; yet thought I not amisse to let this Apologie passe also as it was made, partly for that it conteyneth my owne particuler defence which the other toucheth not, but handleth the whole action in general, and partly also for that the māner of both our proceedings is different, he shewing the whole subiect and argument to be a fayned thing, and I that albeit some occasion had byn geuen of suspition yet the forme of proceeding against Squyer & the rest to be vniust & against all reason, equitie, law, and conscience.

M. Mar. Ar. to proue his intent layeth downe the historical narration of all the whole matter and men touched in the same, to wit how Squyer and Rolles were taken vpon the sea and brought prisoner to Siuil, and had their liberty there by Father Parsons meānes, and how afterwards geuing newe occasion of offence in matters of religiō they were taken agayne at S. Lucars, & brought back to Siuil, and there agayne after certayne monethes imprisonment, deliuered out of prison & put in different Monasteryes for to be instructed, whence they fled away to the sea syde, and

excused their flight afterwards by letters to Father Walpoole that was most in danger by that flight which letters are yet extant.

It sheweth also the improbability of the deuise, to wit, that Father Walpoole (being the man he is) should euer haue thought of such a fond way of sending poyson into England by such a fellow as Squyer was, suspected stil to be a dissembled protestant, as afterwards he proued, and that thing could not be wrought, nor the poyson caryed so farre but that Rolles his compagnion must know somewhat thereof, who being at that present in the Towre of London, and neither brought forth, nor mentioned, nor yet made partaker of the fact, was a token that matters went not wel, nor were directly handled.

Besides this that book declareth by many examples the practises of Protestants in these our dayes for making Catholykes odious, especially Iesuites of which order Father Walpoole is, who was fayned to be the contriuer of this conspiracy which is shewed to be as farre from the condition of the man, as the matter it self is from all probability of truth, to wit, any such poyson to be made, bought and sold in Siuill proued by the death of a dog, sent into England by sea in bladders of leather, poured vpon the Quenes Sadle, as also vpon the chayre of the Earle of Essex without hurt to the sitter or ryder, the matter discovered by one Stanley, that neyther sawe Squyer in Spayne, nor spoke with him, and it was denyed by Squyer first at the barre, and after at his death, and since his death called in dowt by Stanley his first detector, (as by some hath byn written from the place where he abyderh) the force also of that poyson (yf any such had byn) is declared by reasons and authoritie both of physick and Philosophie that it could not worke any such effect as was ymagined, or pretended, & consequentlie that those applauses & congratulations both by woords, sighs, & teares which a company of flatterers shewed forth at Squyers arraynment and condemnation for her Ma^{ties} so miraculous escape was most ridiculous and vayne.

This is the summe & effect of that answere as breiffly set downe, as I can gather it, and it maketh the fiction most euident to all such as without partiality wil read it, though I heare say that it may chance come out agayne more ample in a secod edition, with many Autenticall letters, as wel of the citty of Siuill, as of the courte of Inquisitiō in that place, to shew the manner of Squyers and Rolles
running

running away from those partes with some other circumstances to
improue the probabilitie of the deuised slander in England, which
letters and instruments I thought not good to insert heere to my
Apologie but to leaue the to M. Mar. Ar. now at his returne hither
from Rome to ad to his former Answer if so he shal think good,
for that he maketh mention thereof in the same, and as for this my
defence (gentle reader I shal not need to aduise thee of the
substance, manner, method, or argument therof, for that the breife
chapters ensuing wil sufficiently setsoorth the same, only I would
admonish thee to consider maturely with thy self how rhow
mayest be vsed in matters of Religion which do most
import thy soule and saluation, when in matters of
fact and open action thou shalt fynd
thy self so egregiously
abused.

A 3

TO



TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE LORDES

OF HER MAJESTY'S PRIVY COUNCEL.



Right honorable understanding by common fame, confirmed by letters from Italy, Flanders, and France, that one Edward Squire, was lately condemned, and executed in England, for hauing attempted to poyson the Queenes Ma^{tie} and my Lord of Essex by the instigation as

was surmised of one Father VValpoole a Iesuite in Siuil, with the priuity & consent of Father Creswel and my selfe, here in Madrid, I was (I assure your Lordships) at the first brute amased and much afflicted to heare that these good men so farre of in my conscience from such cogitations, and my selfe no lesse, were slandered with matter so haynous, & odious, and although I had recourse presentlie to the brazen wall of our owne innocency. (as the Poet speaketh) and the comfort of a good conscience which our Saniour geueth his seruants in like cases, saying to his Apostles, happie are yow when men shall rayle vpon you, and persecute you, and speake all euil of you, belying you for my sake, reioyce and be glad, for your reward is copious in heauen, although I say I rested cōforted with this consideration, & so resolved my self to patience, & silence, yet waying afterwards, that as the Latyn prouerb sayth, Qui tacet, consentire videtur, he that holds his peace seemes

Morat. lib. 1.
epist. ad Me-
corn.

Matth. 5.

seemes to consent, & that my silence might not onlie turne to my further condēnation in this matter, but also to the prejudice of all the good Catholyks of England, against whome enery supposed fault of any one or two (be it neuer so false) is commonlie wrested to the reproche & condemnation of all; I could not forbear to offer to all indifferēt men this necessarie defence and Apology of my innocencie in this affayre, as also to adresse the same to your Lordships hands especially for 2. causes which heer I wil expresse.

The one was for that it is not only conuenient in respect of your place & dignitie, as also of the duety I owe & beare you, but also importeth for the preuention of the inconueniēce aforesaid, that I seek to satisfie your honours, before all others in whose hands principally resteth the satisfaction of her Ma^{tie}. & the moderation of the rigour, or iniust persecution & vexation which vpon this false conceyt may otherwayes be vsed against the innocents Catholyks of England, which haue neyther parte nor fault therein.

The other is for that perswading my selfe, that so fond a fiction, or rather so foule & vnchristian a practyse tēding to the spilling of guyltlesse blood in this acte, & to the slaunder of innocent people both at home & abroad, could not proceed from the body of a councel consisting of men so honorable graue, & wise, as your Lordships are presumed to be, but rather frō some inferiour persons of lesse consideratiō, & more desyrous of garboyles to whose examinations such causes commonly are committed, who may haue abused perhaps your Lordships in this behalf dazzling your eyes with pretence of dangers to her Ma^{tie} person: in consideration whereof I thought my selfe bound as wel in conscience as duety to your Lordships to discover vnto you not onely the trecherous deuises,

deuises, & dryfts of those that contriued this infamous tragedy, but also the dishonour danger and ineuitable damages that must needes redound to her Ma^{tie} to your honours, and to the whole state in tyme, if such proceedings be permitted, in which respect if those ancient senators & gouernors among the Romans being heathens, did think it conuenient euen for honour of theyr common wealth to chasten oftentimes most sharply, & exemplarly certayne newe deuisers of publyk shiftes, deceyptes, & dishonorable trecherjes vsed by the though it were against their enemyes, and in farre countreys, and to the common publiq^{ue} benefit of theyr state as they pretended, whereof many examples may be read in Liuy, Halicarnasseus & others, & S. Augustine in his booke of the city of God, thinketh that God gaue them so flourishing a Monarchie ouer the world for this honorable kynd of proceeding in moral iustice, how much more ought Christian counsellours detest and punish such base & vile proceedings or rather malicious and diabolical as this is whereof now I am to treat, vsed against the blood of Christian subiectes at home in your owne sights, to no publique benefit, but rather to publique infamy, and shame among all nations where it shalbe knowne, wherefore this a matter so worthie & necessary for your L. to know & remedy, I hope you wil take it wel that it cometh dedicated to your selues.

THE

THE AVTORS PROTE

*station of his innocency with the confutation of the
fiction by the improbability of the end
that was supposed to mone
Squyre thereunto.*

CHAP. I.



FIRST then for as much as my innocēcy in this matter, is best knowne and mozt cleare vnto my selfe, by the testimony of my owne cōscience which is to me *mille testes*, as the law sayth, no one but a thousand witnesses, and would be no lesse cleare to your Lordships, yf my hart were knowne as wel to you, as it is to God and my selfe, I think yt conuenient for the first poynt of my discharge to caul him to witnes that is the searcher of hartes & raynes: *Psalm. 7.* which manner of purgation though it may argue weaknes or want of credit in him that vseth it, (for as S. Chrysostome sayth, an othe is a geuing of surety where mans *Chrysost. hom. 9. in acta Apost.* manners haue no credit) neuerthelesse it is so conforme to all lawes humayne and deuine, and so confirmed by custome of all countreys, and common wealthes, that it cannot iustlie be refused when the party is neyther infamous for falshood, nor conuict by euident testimonyes; of the cryme obiected to the contrarie, in which respect S. Paule sayth an othe is the end of euery controuersie for *Heb. 6.* the confirmation of the truth. Therefore I do here caul almightie God his Angels and Sayntes to witnesse that I am so farre from being guilty of this matter which I am charged with, that I neuer saw in my lyfe for ought I know, the sayd Edward Squyre, nor euer had any correspondence or dealing with him by letters, or any other
B meanes,

AN APOLOGIE IN DEFENCE

meanes, neyther yet euer conspired my self, or was any way priuie to any other mānes conspiracy of the death of her Ma^{tie} or of my Lord of Essex, & this I affirme in such sort, as yf it be not true in all and in euery part, I renounce all the benefit I expect of my Sauour Iesus Christ, which I would not do for all the good in the world, as your Lordships may beleue of me, yf it please yow to consider that for the only respect not to offend God, and my conscience, I left all the peasures and commodities of my owne countrey, to lead this banished lyfe for many yeares, not hauing bene any way charged whilest I was in England with matter of state, or any other greater cryme, then that I would not go to your Churches, and prayers, perswading my selfe as styl I do, that I should offend God damnably therin.

If therfore I haue bene & am contented to loose all that a man can loose, lyfe excepted, rather then to do an act offensive to God and my conscience, I hope no charitable man can conceiue of me that I would now without all compulsion, hope of gayne or feare of losse, aduisedly forswear my self & with a wilful and damnable periury frustrate and loose all that fruit of my former sufferings.

Neuerthelesse yf any man be so passionate and vncharitable, that he wil not be satisfied with this my protestatiō, and solemne othe, let him way wel the matter it self with all the circumstances, & then I doubt not but he wil easely see the wrong donne both to Squyre and vs, that are conioyned and mentioned in his accusation.

What Squyre
was, and
what his
end might be

First therfore for this purpose it is to be considered what was Squyres end therein, seing as the Philosopher sayth, the end is the first thing in intention, though the last in execution, & in a matter of so great weight & daunger as this, there must needes be some great consideration that moued him therto, which the contriuers of this tragedy knew so wel that for the better colouring of the deuise, they forged the most forcible motiue and highest end that
may

may be, which is zeale of religion, and hope of æternal reward, induced perhaps therto by the late example yet fresh in memorie of the last King of Fraunce, killed by a fryer, moued with meere zeale without all hope of tēporal gayne, or possibility to escape; therefore they sayd that Squyre by F. Walpooles persuations entended the death of her Ma^{tie}. and my L. of Essex, to the end to do a meritorious act, and to gayne euerlasting glorie, but the vanity of this fiction is euident, seing it is manifest, that he was a protestant as he shewed playnely at his death, when yt was no tyme to dissemble, where-vpon I inferre that seing his religion taught him that there is no merit in workes, and much lesse in such workes, how could he imagin that the killing of her Ma^{tie}. should be meritorious, or any way grateful to God, she being the principal pillar of his religion by whose death the same should be endangered, and the Catholyke fayth lyke to be furthered, or at the least he must needs imagin that F. Walpoole had no other end therin but the furtherance of his religion, yf he moued him to any such matter, could he then be so contrary to him-self, as for zeal of religion or hope of merit to seek the ouerthrow of his owne religion? this is incredible, absurd, and impossible; Seing then it is cleare that he could haue no such motiue or end as was supposed, and vrged in his accusation, what may be thought of the whole matter buylt vpon so weak & fals a ground, but that the foundation fayling the whole buylding must needes fal withal? for the further proof wherof, and our ful purgation, though it might suffice without further discourse that Squyre at his death cleared both himself and vs, yet to the end that the impiety, & malice of our aduersaryes may be withal so euident that they shal haue no colour, or pretence to haue proceeded according to *allegata & probata*, (which in some cases may excusse a iudge from all offence, though he condemne an innocent man) I wil particularly examine the groundes where-vpon he was condemned.

AN APOLOGIE IN DEFENCE
THE EXAMINATION OF THE
*grounds wher-upon Squire was condemned,
and how uncertayne is the tryal of
truthe by torment.*

CHAP. II.

ALTHOUGH I haue litle vnderstanding of our english common lawes, whereof I neuer had further knowledge, then that which I got by the experience of some fewe cases that I saw tryed at the common Assizes, and in the Kings bench (which also by my long absence from England, I haue in part forgotten) and therefore cannot proue by the words, and texts therof, nor by book cases that Squire was wrongfully condēned, yet yf I proue the same by the approued lawes of other countreys, yea and by reason and conscience which are the grounds of all good lawes, yt must needs follow, that eyther he was condemned flatly against our english lawes also, or els that thesame are repugnant to conscience and reason, which were as great an inconueniēce as the other, and such as I am sure no common Lawyer of England wil grant, neyther is it to be supposed.

Now then to come to the examination of this matter, yf it be true that is heer reported (as it is lyke to be, for that we heare yt vniformely from dyuers partes) that Squire was condemned without any witnessses presented at his arraignment, vpon some light presumptions and his owne confession extorted by torment, as he sayd him-selfe at the barre, and also at his death, it is cleare that he was wrongfully condemned, for that no law can allow that such a confession should suffice for the condemnation of any man, without some other euident proofes; yt being manifest, that the innocēt may be forst by tormēt as soone to accuse himself falsly as the nocent truely to confesse his fault; which the cyuil law proposeth to all Iudges carefully to be confi-

considered, saying that Iudgment by torment is deceytful, for that often the innocent are compelled thereby to confesse faults which they neuer committed; and S. Augustin wisely noting the inconuenience of such tryals, lamentably bewayleth the practise thereof, and the infirmity of mānes Iudgement in this manner, in these wordes.

Lib. 1. §. qu. ff de quæst.

When a man (sayth he) is tormented in his owne cause to try whether he be culpable or no, many tymes the innocent suffreth most certayne paynes for an vncertayne fault, not because any cryme of his is knowne, but because his innocency is vnkowne, so that the ignorance of the iudge causeth the calamity of the innocent, and that which is more intollerable, yea & to be lamented with fountaynes of teares, we see that whiles the Iudge tormenteth the accused, least he should kyl an innocent, it happeneth by the miserie of humayn ignorance, that he falleth into the inconuenience that he seeketh to auoyd, and ignorantly killeth a guytles man, whom he tormented to know whether he was guylty or no, for the accused rather chusing to dy then to indure the torment, doth many tymes accuse himself of that which he neuer did; Thus much S. Augustyn in this discourse.

Aug. 19. de ciuit. dei c. 6

Hereof also Valerius Maximus geueth a notable exāple in a seruant of Marcus Agrius, who being accused to haue kyllled a seruant of Titus Fanius, did for feare of torment most constantly affirme that he had donne it, though after he was executed the partie whom he confessed to haue killed returned home safe, wherto I might ad many examples of lyke matters that fal out in daylie experience, but that I wil not be tedious to your Lordships, and therfor I wil only touch breifly by the way one that concerneth my self, not vnlike to this of Squyres which happened in the yeare of our Lord 1595. at my being with the Dukes grace of Feria in Bruxels, where I was through the rigorous, yf not malicious proceedings of a certayne Iudge, brought to be accused by two fensual persons, not only to

Lib. 2. cap. 9.

The Author in danger by false accusation vpon torments.

AN APOLOGIE IN DEFENCE.

haue intelligence which Sr. Robert Cecyl (whose honour knoweth how innocent I am therof) but a so to haue conspired together with them the burning of the Kings munition at Machlyn, though afterwards, through the goodnes of almighty God, and the particuler fauour of the Dukes grace (to whom I am therefore to acknowledge an æternal obligation) I was fully cleared therof; for the proesse being at the Dukes request reueiwd by the priue counsell, & the proceedings of the Iudge thoroughly examined, it appeared that he had not only geuen two torments to eyther of the prisoners without iust cause, and so forst them to accuse both me and them selues wrongfully, but also cōfronted them together in such sort, that the one instructed the other what he should say, yea and that he razed their depositions that were different, and made them agree by his owne arte, wherto the prisoners consented also for feare of new torments, chusing rather to dy then to indure the same, and determining to discharge their consciences at their deathes, as wel for their owne purgation as myne, and this appearing to be true by the examination not only of the prisoners them-selues, but also of the Iudges clark, & the Iaylor (besydes that it was euident, that there had beene no munition at Machlyn to burne of 25. yeares before) the prisoners were quit of that matter by sentence, and I for that I was neuer in the hands of the Iustice, was only declared to be cleare and innocent by testimony giuen me vnder the hands of the priue counsell, and the Iudge was also forst to restore my honour, and to do me such reparation of the wrong, as I rested satisfied.

And I doubt not but yf I had as potent a patron & frend in England at this present as I had at Bruxels, who might procure the proceedings of this matter of Squyre to be sifted, & examined to the bottome as hee did the other, there would be found no lesse indirect dealing in this, then there was in that if not much worse, & more cunningly hadled, as after wil in parte appeare.

OF THE

OF THE CRUELTY OF

*the Rackmaisters in England, and of the
manner of their exami-
nations.*

CHAP. III.

BV T to the end your Lordships may the better conceyue how Squire was circumvented, and forced to accuse both him-self & F. Walpoole may it please yow to enter into the consideration of some of the barbarous vsage & tyranie that the Rackmaisters, tormentours, and inferiour officers, and examiners by whose hands he passed haue vsed in the causes of Catholykes for many yeares, and dayly do vse obseruing no order of Iustice, nor forme of law, neyther in examining nor tormenting; for they examin men, not only of their owne works words and thoughtes, yea and what they would do or say in such and such cases, (a thing neuer practised eyther amongst Chrystians or heathens) but also of other men by name, and with such particularities as they teach them when they are in torment, what they would haue them say of them-selues, and others, for their owne ease, against all conscience, and law, which law sayth, he which examineth in tormēt ought not to aske particularly whether Lucius Titius did the murder but generally who did it, for otherwayes he playeth the parte of an instructor, and not of an examiner.

Lib. 1. §. qui
qu. ff. de qu.

Furthermore they seek many tymes by subtile, and captious questions to entangle at vnawares some simple Catholykes, that know not the particuler penalties of the lawes, nor the daungers therof, and after they cause them, to be executed therypon, wherof I could alleadge many exāples, but one shal suffice which of my owne knowledge I can affirme to be true.

M. Fleet-

AN APOLOGIE IN DEFENCE

The dealing
of Fleetwood
with M. Nel-
son Priest.

M. Fleetwood not many yeares since Recorder of London, examining M. Iohn Nelson Priest, asked him many questions, as yt were by the way of conference, concerning Schisme and the definition thereof, and who were to be called Schismatikes, and so drew him by litle & litle frō one poynt to an other so farre that at last he made him by necessarie consequences confesse, that the Queene was a Schismatike, and when the poore man saw by the triumph that he made therat and by the diligent wryting of the clarke that he was fallen into the snare of some penal law, he protested that he knew not whether he had offended any law or no, and that willingly he would not haue donne it, yf he had knowne it, but notwithstanding the seruāt of God was after indyted ther-vpon, arayned, and executed, and when presentlie after thesame day one M. Metam a learned and graue Priest being conuented before the commissioners and demaunded by the Recorder of thesame matters, and in thesame subtile manner, refused to answere to such bloody questions (not to geue him and the rest occasion of so great a sinne, as to spil his blood) the Recorder fel into an extreame great rage, and reuiled him shamefully, reproching him with tymiditie, and cowardise, the lyke whereof I think was neuer hard nor red of in any Christian, no nor heathē cōmon wealth, as that those which should be the ministers of Iustice, guardians and defenders of the Lawes and meanes to keep men from transgression thereof, should procure them to be transgressours, and be offended with men, because they wil not offend: yea and vse thesayd Lawes, not as lanternes, or guydes, to lead and direct men to do their duety, but as stumbling blockes to ouerthrow them, as snares to entangle them, and as knyues to cut theyr throtes, and neyther giue them leaue to speak, nor to think, nor to hold their peace, which poynt Tyberius Cæsar though otherwise tyrannical, did mislike, saying (as Suetonius reporteth of him) that in a free common wealth,

M. Metam.

Sueton. in
Tyberius.

wealth, the tongue and thought ought to be free, which libertie of speach neuerthelesse we craue not, but only that it might be lawful for to think what we list (not matters of treason or conspiracy against the Prince or state as sycophants do bable) but matters of our fayth and conscience such as all English-men from the tyme that we were made Christians haue thought and professed vntil these our dayes, and all Catholykes besydes throughout the world do stil think, and this with all dutie and loue to their temporal Princes, at least mee thinks yt were reason that we should haue leaue to be silent, and not to offend the lawes by forced speach when we neyther meane nor list to do it, for as the traigical poet sayth.

Though nothing els permitted be, let silence breed no blame,

For no man craues of any King, lesse fauour then the same.

To conclude this poynt of their examinations I cannot persuade my selfe that our lawes can allow them, seeing the Imperial Lawes do ordayne exemplar punishment against such magistrates as shal make any malicious or captious interrogatories, as appeareth by a law of Adrian the Emperour, which sayth. *Si quid maligne interrogasse, &c.* yf it shal be proued that they haue examined any maliciously or captiously. Let them be punished in example of all others to the end that the lyke be not committed hereafter.

Seneca in
Oedip.

Marcianus l.
C. L. Diuus
Adrianus, 6.
ff. de custo-
dia, & exhi-
bitione reorū

C OF THE

AN APOLOGIE IN DEFENCE
OF THE TORMENTORS
and their manner of proceeding against law
and conscience.

CHAP. IIII.

SEeing such are their examinations, what marvail is
y^t though their torments be no lesse exorbitant, which
they giue commonly to Catholykes without accuser
or witnes, and without measure or certayne number,
as of late yeares to omit other examples was euident in
two rare gentlemen Priests and religious learned fathers
Southwel and Walpoole whom they tormented, the one
10. and the other 14. tymes, though they had neyther ac-
cuser nor witnes, nor iust presumption of other matter
against them then their religion for the which only they
were after condemned, and executed, whereas by the ciuil
law a man cannot be tormented except their be proofes
against him^a *Luce clariora*, as Baldus sayth, clearer then
the Sunne it self, & testified at least by one witnes^b *omni*
exceptione maior (against whome no exception can be
take) that eyther hath seene the cryme comitted, or other-
wayes vnderstood it, as certaynly as though he had seene
it, in which torment also a certayne moderation is pre-
scribed, which is not lawful for the Iudge to exceed, as
it shal not be reiterated^c but when new proofes are pre-
sented, (and as some lawyers say more pregnant then the
first) and that the partie tormented be neyther^d killed nor
lamed therewith, neyther yet that any other kynd of torture
be vsed then ordinarie in so much that the^e Doctors do
maruelously enueigh against such Iudges as inuent newe
manners of torments calling them^f *carnifices* and not *Iu-*
dices, hangmen, and not Iudges. Likewise the Canonists
do teach, that it is a mortal sinne for a Iudge to geue tor-
ment without sufficient witnesse and euidence, or to ex-
ceed

F. Southwel.
F. walpoole.

^a Baldus cōf.
259. verba in-
quisitionis
ver 7. ratio
lib. 1.

^b Bart l. ma-
rit. in prin-
cipio ff de q.
l. confessio
extra iudi.

^c Alex. con. 5.
num. 4. lib 1.
Albert in
rubr C. de q.
num. 8.

^d Barol in l.
questionis
modum n. 1.
ff. de qu & in
lege corn ff
ad l. corn.

^e Brun de iu-
dicio & tor-
tura f. 65.
post, num 6.

^f Siluest ver
bo Tortura.

ceed the number of measure prescribed by the law, so that it dependeth not vpon the wil of the Iudge, nor yet is it the lawful power of a Prince to dispence therewith, or to command it to be downe in other manner as some very learned Cyuilians haue signified vnto kings and princes in some cases and occasions, as them-selues haue written, therefore the ciuill lawe worthelie ordayneth, *panam capitis*, payne of death against the Iudges which geue torment without sufficient proofes, and appoynteth other greiuous punishments for them that obserue not the prescribed and ordinance of the law in geuing thesame, wherein I report my selfe to the Doctors of the Arches, and M. of the chancery that are Ciuilians and canonists who canot be ignorant of their lawes in this point.

Affict, and
gram mat.
voto 30 nu.
13. x voto
32. num 9.

Mars in l.
questionis
modum nu.
73. ff de qu.
& in l. 1.
praetera nu.
7. in fin. ff. ad
leg cornel. de
sicanis.

Wherby your lordship may vnderstand what they deserue that torment the Catholyks vpon their owne braynes, and bare suspitions, without any proof, or witness in the world, & that with such extremity as they lame some, and kil others, and with such deuilish deuises as amongst Christians hath not bene hard of whereof I could alleadge some lamentable examples of Priestes hanged vp by the members, or priuy partes, as of M. Tho. Pormort and M. George Beesley but especialy of M. Francis Dikenson of whose torments I think good to relate some perticulers omitting to auoyd prolixitie, the stories of the others.

It is not many yeares since the said M. Francis Dikenson Priest was taken and committed to prison by one of the persecutors, who seing him to be a very proper yong man in the flower of his age, and imagining that he might quickly ouerthrow him by the sinne of the flesh, found meanes to haue a woman conueyed to his bed, who being repelled by him, and the enemy seing that the practise took no effect, but came to be knowne not only to all those that were in prison, but also to many others abroad to the commendation of the Priestes chastitie, and honour of the Catholyke Religion, he was so incensed against him,

M. Fra. Di-
kenson.

AN APOLOGIE IN DEFENCE

that he caused him to be hāged vp, first by the priuie partes (which he made to be pearfed in diuers places with whorons) and after by the hands vntil he was half dead, and then called in many to see his sayd priuie partes, inflamed and rankled) with the burning of the whote yrons, saying vnto them after they were gone foorth agayne, behold this chaste Priest, how he hath dressed and spoyled himselfe with naughty women, and nor content therewith caused him also to be arayned, and executed for being a Priest, without hauing any other matter against him; which kynd of cruelty tending to the ouerthrow both of soule, body, honour, and all, can hardly be matched I think with any example of the old heathen persecutours of the primitiue Church.

This I haue thought good to represent to your Lordships, as wel that it may please yow of your wisedomes & piety to haue an eye hereafter vnto such proceedings, as also that your honours may conceyue what such merciles men as these, might make so weak a man as Squire was to say, or do, to the preiudice of himself and others, and yf neuerthelesse they haue wrought the lyke effect (God be thanked) but in very fewe of that great numbers of Catholykes that haue past their handes in this our persecution, it is not to be ascribed to any other thing els, but to the miraculous assistance that God for his owne glorie hath geuen and geueth to these witnesses of his truth, no lesse then he did in tymes past to the ancient martyrs.

THAT

THAT THE COMMON
*lawes of England do not admit torment in tryal
 of criminal causes, for the condemnation
 of the delinquent.*

CHAP. V.

BV T now to proceed with the matter of Squire;
 our lawmakers wysely considering the great incō-
 veniences that grow of the secret tryal of causes by
 torment, the danger of errour, the corruption of iu-
 stice, the circumvention of the party accused, the slaunder
 and calumniation of the innocent, and lastlie the smal
 ground that is to be made vpon a confession wrong out by
 the rack, not only ordayned the publike tryal, which we
 haue in vse, but also excluded all torment from the same,
 admitting onely the testimony of lawful and sufficient
 witnesses, which being had the partie is condemned in our
 law, though he neuer confesse the cryme, so that the con-
 fession being not material or necessarie for condemnation
 (as in other countreys it is) torment which serueth only to
 extort the same, is superfluous, for where the effect is not
 necessarie, the cause is also needles.

And yf our law forbiddeth not, or perhaps ordayneth
 the vse of torment in matters of conspiracy against the
 Prince and state, it is to be vnderstood, that it is not to the
 end to force the partie to confesse for his condemnation,
 but for the bolting out of the bottome and circumstances
 of the matter, & to know all the confederates for the præ-
 uention of the daunger which may ensewe to the common
 welth, for otherwyes I must needes say, that our lawe
 should be contrary to it selfe, and that the daunger of er-
 rour, and of corruption of Iustice, which our lawmakers
 sought to preuent by our publyke tryal, should be nothing
 at all remedied thereby.

AN APOLOGIE IN DEFENCE

For what doth it profit the prisoner to be brought in publicly to heare his iudgment read in the hearing of all, to haue the witnesss confronted with him, to be tryed by a verdict of 12. substantial men, and to haue so many causes of exceptions allowed him against the sayd witnesss, and Iurie (as in the practise of our lawe is seene) what doth all this I say auayle him, if the rackmaister may haue the fingring of him first, and force him by torture to accuse him-selfe, and that the same accusation shal suffice to preiudice all the priuiledges that our law alloweth him?

Againe why are the iurors brought to the barre, but to see the witnesss deposed, to heare their euidence, and the answer of the party ther-vnto, and to vnderstand the whole groundes of the matter for the full satisfaction of their consciences, and to the end they may geue a true verdict.

Edward
Squyres
arraignment.

But in this case of Squyre what cleare euidence was produced? what witnesss were deposed? what warrant had the Iury for their consciences, who hearing by his owne report, that he had beene forced by torments to accuse him-self, condemned him neuerthelesse vpon his owne confession, first extorted in the Tower by torture and by him ratified afterward at the bar for feare of new torments (as afterward shalbe declared) besides some frivolous and vaine arguments vrged by M. Atturney and other lawyers whose occupation is, to amplifie, and exaggerate euery trifle, to make mountaynes of molehills and with their retoryke (such as it is) to persuade ignorant me, that thee moone is made of greene cheese? Truly eyther this is farre from the wisdom pyetie and intention of our lawmakers, and from the course of our lawes, or els we haue the most rigorous and absurd lawes in the world.

But seing the groundes of Squyres condemnation consisted principally in two poynts, the one his owne
confes-

confession vpon torment, and the other the presumptions vrged by the lawyers which did seeme to fortifie the same, I wil breestly treat of eyther of them a part, therby to shewe what may be iudged therby of their validitie, And first of the presumptions.

OF THE PRESVMPTIONS

*vrged by the lawyers against Squire, and first of
the deposition of Iohn Stallage
alias Stanley.*

C H A P. VI.

TH E R E was red to the Iury the deposition of one Iohn Stallage alias Stanley who lately before was come from Spayne, and had affirmed that one day in my lodging in Madrid I enueighed against Squire with great palsion, and othes, saying that he had deceyued vs in not performing his promise, and that I feared we should be ytterly discredited with the King therby. Wherto I answered that I protest before God, and vpon my saluation, that I neuer said any such thing to Stanley in my lyfe, neyther is there any man (I suppose) that knoweth him and me, and both our qualities, behauiours and conditions, wil thinke it probable that I would vse such wordes before him if there had byn cause, or that so easely, and eagerlie I would fal to sweareing vpon the suddayne, which hath byn so farre of from all the rest of my former lyfe, as my acquaintance wil beare me witnesse. But to the end it may appeare to your honours what a substantial witnes he was, I craue your pacience, whyles I discourse of the sufficiency first of the man, and then of the matter by him alledged.

For the first I assure your Lordships that if his honestie
were

AN APOLOGIE IN DEFENCE

the conditi-
ons of Iohn
Ballage.

were to be tried by a Iurie of his contrymen in Spayne, I meane eyther his fellow prisoners in Siuil, or the Catholykes in Madrid, he would soone be set after Squire, for that no man here hath other opinion of him, then that he is a notable drunkard, a common lyer, a pilfering, cosening, and cogging companion, yea and (as he himself hath made no bones to boalt) a purscatcher vpon the high-way, & as I haue credibly hard a commo horse-stealer, for the which, & such other vertues of his I vnderstand he hath scowred sundry geoles in England, and should haue flowred the gallowes long ere this, yf he had had his right, and of these his good conditions, sufficient testimony may be had, not only by the Englishmen stil in prison at Siuil, but also by those that escaped hence, and are in England, who cannot but testifie the same, yf they be put to their othes.

And as for his behauiour heer, I assure your Lordships, that within a fewe dayes after he was set at libertie, and that we had noted his demeanour, we were both weary & ashamed of him, for besydes his vyle and scandalous lyfe, to bad to be told, he would sometymes be in such desperate moodes that he would blasphemme God, saying that he could not forgeue his sinnes, and sometymes threaten to make himself away, because he was not regarded and rewarded according to his expectation, though much better then his lewd conditions deserued, and to giue your Lordships some particuler examples of his trecherie, yea and his periurie (which for the mater in hand is most to be considered) your honours shal vnderstand that first he betrayed his owne fellow prisoners in Siuil reuealing certayne treatyes and practises they had in hand for their libertie, and other purposes, and caused some letters they had written to some of your Lordships to be taken; Secodly he discouered an English ship that aryued there, not for any zeale to this Kings seruice, but in hope to get a third parte of the goods, & lastly accused a frenchman called Thomas Dobret to be an English man, my Lord of Essex his seruāt,
and his

and his spy, which neuerthelesse presently vpon his escape from hence he reuoked by certayne letters that he wrote from S. Iohn de Luys aswel to one of the Iudges criminal of Madrid, as to Father Creswel and me wherein he defyed, and reuyled vs with very vnseemly speach, blaspheming against our Religion and protesting that all he had donne as wel in Dobrets mater, as otherwyes was only to get his libertie, and that Dobret was no Englishman, but a frenchman, for ought he knew, and so by his owne confession acknowledged himself to be periured, as may wel be supposed, seeing he had giuen his testimony before against Dobret by oth and this the English marchants at S. Iohn de Luys who sent vs his letters open can testifie, so that according to the rule of the law (*qui semel est malus, semper malus esse presumitur*) he which is once euil, is alwayes presumed to be so in the same kynd, it may be wel inferred, that seing he made no conscience heer to calumniate and accuse others falsely therby to get his owne libertie, he would make as litle scruple there to coyne some matter of Squyre and vs, to curry fauour with your Lordships, & with the shewe of some plausible seruice, to counterpeyse the offences he had committed heer against your state, yf the same should chaunce to come to your Lordships, eares, and thus much for the man, now to the matter.

First that which Stanley affirmed that he heard of me in Madrid was not perticuler concerning Squyres employ to kil her Ma^{ty} (for the which he was condemned) but general concerning some seruice to be donne by him, which might haue beene vnderstood (if I had spoken it as I neuer did) of some other matter of lesse importance, and daunger to the state, then the Queenes death, in so much that howsoeuer it might serue to induce some light presumption, it could be no euidence sufficient to condemne Squyre, neyther yet to geue him torment other circumstances being considered as after shal be proued.

Secondly this Stanley testified nothing vpon his owne
D know-

L. si cui E. d.
accusat Barc
in l. Caluini
de Sena.

testium &
i glossa c.
et testibus in
tam lieteris
op. licet ex
uadam de
stibus.

L. A. for. c.
e probatio-
ibus.
Angel. de
halef. in ver-
o, & ad quæ
clam. post
um. 36.
Aretin c.
um, oporteat
a. 19. text in
per tuas de
monia.
art. in l. 1. ff.
e quæst.

knowledge against Squire, but only vpon hearesay from
vs heer which cannot suffice in law to condemne any
man, especially in this case, seing it was acknowledged by
M. Atturney that we of whome he was supposed to haue
heard it, had suborned him to ouerthrow Squire, and be-
sydes to do some great mischeif in England vnder colour
to accuse Squire of that matter, so that both he and we are
supposed to haue conspired to betray Squire. Whervpon
may be inferred two things very euident the one, that
Stanley being Squyres accuser he could be no witnesse
against him, for that in law they are to be ^a distinct persons.
The other that though he were not his accuser, but wit-
nesse, yet might not his accusation or testimony be of any
force against him for that yf it be true (as law determineth)
that a mortal enemy to any man cannot be his ^b accuser
nor a ^c lawful witnesse against him (because the law pre-
sumeth that whatsoeuer he pretendeth he is not moued
therby by zeale of Iustice, but by desire of reuenge) what
shal we say of Stanley of whome it was presumed, by the
lawyers the-selues that neyther zeale of Iustice, nor loue
of his countrey, nor cōsideration of his duety to her Ma^{tie}.
nor any other good respect moued him to accuse Squire,
or to be witnes against him, but (as in Iudgement it was
anowed and supposed) that he was suborned, and sent in
by vs heer of purpose to cut Squyres throte, and vnder
colour therof to do also some other notable mischeif
wher-vpon in lyke manner it may be no lesse probably cō-
iectured, that yf we heer made no conscience to employ
Stanley, to two mischeuous and pernicious purposes at
once making the one a colour for the other, we would
make as litle scruple, for the better compassing of our de-
signments, to bely Squire also vnto him and so his testi-
monie should be false, which although it be farre from our
customes and consciences, yet I say it might haue seemed
probable ynough to those that would not stick to vse the
lyke practises towards vs, yea & haue donne many tymes,
as wel

as wel by counterfet letters sent to some principal men of our nation, in such sort as they might be intercepted, con-
 teyning thankes for seruices donne, as also by woords cast out at home of some of vs in the presence of such as were lyke to blow it abroad to our disgrace, by which meanes a very honest and wyse gentleman, and confident seruant of the Kinges was cauled in questiō of late yeares by some aduersaries of his, who accused him to haue intelligence with the state of England for that a counsellour now dead had sayd of him in the presence of some principal Catholykes that he was an honest man, and a frend to his countrey, but the commissioners that were deputed for the hearing and examining of the matter on this syde the seas, had neyther so litle law or conscience or so smal iudgement in discovering trecherous deuises as to suffer the partie to be so much as apprehended vpon such an accusation.

Practises of
 English pe-
 secutors a-
 gainst Catho-
 lyks abroad

Therefore to conclude if such a testimonie as this of Stanley be held good in our law, (as it is in no law els of the world) such a gappe is layd open to calumniators, as no man in England can make account that this head is sure vpon his shoulders.

But put the case that Stanley had beene both a lawful witnesse, and his testimonie neuer so much to the purpose, yet he could not by any law, eyther humayn, or diuine be sufficient to condemne Squire being a lone, and that no mā els witnessed the same particularitie that he did, as had beene requisitie to proue it iuridically, in a matter of lyfe and death, wherein as the law sayth, *vox vnus vox nullius*, the saying of one, is the saying of none, and our Saviour sayth *in ore duorum aut trium testium stet omne verbum*, let every matter be decyded by the witnesse of two or three witnesses.

Deut. c. 17

Mars conf. n. 25. Si lues verbo testis, quæst. 5. Matt. 18.

And although in some cases our lawes admit one only witnes, yet the same cannot be with any reason or conscience practised, but when the iurers themselues haue so

sufficient knowlege of the matter, that they need not any further testimony for which purpose our law ordayneth (yf I be not deceaued) that the Iury shalbe impaneled in the same county where the acte was donne, to the end that the iurers, may haue (eyther all or some of them at least) some perticular vnderstanding thereof. But in such cases as this of Squyre (whereof the Iury could haue no knowlege but by the euidence and proofes produced) our lawes cannot so far disagree from all other lawes humain and diuine, as to cōdemne a man to death vpon the testimony of one alone, though it bee neuer so direct and pertinent to the purpose and much les when it is so indirect weak and impertinent as was this testimony of Stanley.

Furthermore seeing that Stanley was not deposed in the presence of the prisoner, nor of the Iury but only his deposition red, how did the Iurie know for the satisfaction and discharge of their consciences, whether he had geuen his testimony voluntarily or by violence, and whether he would stand vnto it to Squyres face or no, which they were bound to consider, yea and to be assured of yt before they should find him guyltie vpon his euidence, for no doubt to those ends the law ordayneth the publike presentation and deposition of the witnesses before the Iurie & the prisoner, for what might be thought, but if Stanley had sayd any such thing, yet that he had reuoked it agayne, and would not stand vnto it, or that there was some other iugling in the matter seing he being then liuing, and in the tower was not brought to the court to be deposed there & confronted with the prisoner as reason and the custome of our law requireth, wherto the ciuil law is also cōforme which ordayneth that the witnesses examined *in sumaria informatione* be produced agayne *in plenario iudicio*, or els that their testimony is nothing worth, and this is thought so necessarie in all causes criminal that it cānot be dispēced with no not with the consent of the delinquent himselfe, who cānot in such cases renounce his owne iust defences.

Therefore

art. in l. fin.
de quaz. ft.
riorum
ost innocē.
um in cap.
bonz.

Glossa singul
in l. pactum
inter hare-
dem. ff. de
pactis.

Therefore to conclude seeing that Stanley was subiect to all exceptions aswel for his lewd conditions, and suspicion of subornatiō against Squyre as also for beeing but a single witnesse, and his euidence not of knowledge but of heare-say, not particular concerning the killing of the Queene nor giuen in publyke, and in presence of the Iury but in priuate, there were so many defects therin, that yf the Iurie found Squyre guyltie therevpon, I must needs say they were worthy to weare papers for their paynes and may perchaunce weare fierbrands els where if they repent not, for spilling Christian blood so wilfullie.

OF THE TESTIMONIE

geuen by a priuie councelor.

CHAP. VII.

IT is further reported heere that a priuie councelor being present at Squyres araygnmēt did witnesse that he had seene a letter which had passed betweene me, & a kinsman of myne at Rome wherein we aduertised one the other, that although Squyre had not yet performed that which he promised, yet he continued his determination to do it when oportunitie should serue.

Hereto for answer I do first make the same asseueration as before vpon my Saluation, that there neuer passed any letter betweene my kinsman and me concerning Squyre in any sence or to any purpose whatsoeuer, and that I think in my conscience my said kinsman neuer hard tel of him, nor so much as dreamed of him, or any matter of his in his lyfe except now by this occasion of his execution written from England.

Secondly I say that perswading my selfe that so great a councelor would not so litle respect his honour, and con-

science as to forge of his owne head a matter so false and odious as this, and to affirme it in such an honorable and publyke assembly to the preiudice of any mannes lyfe and fame if he had seene no such letter in deed I must needes think that he was abused by some of his intelligencers or inferiour informers, who to make a shewe of their double diligence in such affayres did counterfet the sayd letter in my name or my cosens.

But howsoever that was, in this testimonie two thinges are to be considered, the one, the estate and qualitie of his person, the other the weight and valewe of the matter, which being weighed ioyntly may seeme not a litle to preiudice this cause, but considered a parte do nothing at all hurte the same.

Cicero orat.
pro muræna.

For the first I say as Cicero said in the lyke case in defence of Muræna when Cato was the accuser, that the dignitie, autoritie, and other partes that God hath giuen to that our english Cato for a publike good, ought not to turne to the damage of any particuler man, further then the matter meriteth, but rather to his benefit, to which purpose Cicero recoūteth, that when the famous Scipio Africanus accused Lucius Cotta, the great credit, and autoritie of the accuser was so far from hurting the defendant that it greatly profited him; for sayth he the wyse and prudent Iudges would not suffer any man so to faul in Iudgement that he might seeme to be ouerthrowne principally by the power of his aduersarie, and Valerius Maximus telleth of Quintus Pompeius Aufidius, that being accused of extortion, and much pressed with the testimonies of Lucius Q. Metellus, and of Caius and Q. Cepio, men of soueraigne dignitie in that common wealth he was neuerthelesse absolved, least (sayth he) it might seeme that he was oppressed by the might of so potent enemies. Such was the honorable proceeding of the ancient Romans, who thought it no reaso, that a witnes or accuser should bring into Iudgement ouer great power or more autoritie then ordinarie, or ouermuch

Valerius
Max. lib. 8.
cap. 5.

ouermuch fauour, and credit, which ought to be employed to the defence of the innocent, to the help of the poore & impotent, & to the comfort of the afflicted, rather then to the daunger, distresse, and distruction of subiects.

This I am bold to intimate to your Lordships, not to blame the aforesaid wise and woorthy councelor (to whome I beare all due reuerence and respect) but to the end it may appeere that yf his autoritie & dignitie, moued the Iury more then the weight of the matter which hee testified, as yt is lykely it did, it neither ought so to haue donne, neyther was it I am sure any parte of his honours meaning or desire that it should do, and thus much for his person.

As for the matter which he testified; I shal not need to spend many wordes therin, for that I am perswaded his honour did not speake as a witnesse, but by the way of discourse, seing that so farre as I vnderstand, he was not deposed and sworne, neyther yet the letter brought forth and red in the court, nor proued to be a true and no coun-terfeit letter, which I verely beleue his honour wil not for all the good in the world, affirme vpon his credit, & much lesse vpon his oth, as it had beene necessarie eyther he or some other should haue donne to make thesame forcible in law, wherof I saw once the experience in an action of *scandalum magnatum*, in the Kinges bench, where a letter of the plaintiffes being presented by the defendant, I remember M. Atkinson who pleaded for the playntife, reiect-
ed it as not written by him, wher-vpon the defendant was forced to produce a counsellour at Law for witnesse who vpon his oth affirmed that the letter was of the plain-
tifes hand, and sealed with his owne seale.

And yf this were needful in a ciuil action yt must needs be much more in a cause criminal & capital wherein most
euidēt, and pregnant proofes are required, especially in
our law, wherin the Iuries that are to Iudge thereof are
ignorant men, in which respect they had need to haue the

matter

*L. sciant
cuncti c. de
probatio.
Bosins titulo
de conuictis,
num. 9.*

AN APOLOGIE IN DEFENCE

the matter as cleare as the sunne, for otherwyes our tryal were the most absurd and barbarous tryal in the world, and therfore whensoever yt is objected by the Ciuilians against our law, that simple Idiotes haue in their handes the Iudgment of our causes, and (as Anacharsis merilie said to Solon of the populer state of the Athenians) that wyse men propound, and plead cases, and fooles decyde them, when this I say is objected our common Lawyers answere, that our Iurers are not to Iudge de Iure, but de facto, not of matter of Lawes, or right it self, but of matter of fact only that is to say, not of intricate, and ambiguous pointes but of playne and euident matters, as of actes donne, which neuerthelesse yf they be to be proued by presumptions, coniectures, and doubtful euidences, ignorant men wil assone be deceyued therin as in matter of lawe, wher-vpon I inferre, that yf in the ciuil, and all other good approued Lawes, (wherin Learned and wise men are to Iudge of the euidence) yt is required, that the same be most manifest, and testified, by eye witnesses, or others that haue as certayne knowledge therof as eye witnesses, and this especiallie in matters of lyfe, and death; much more is it needful in our Law, wherin ignorant and simple men are to determine the cause, and yf we do not say that this was the intention of our Lawmakers, that ordayned our Iuries, we cannot with reason defend eyther them or their lawes in this behalf, nor excuse them from exceeding great absurdities, and iniurious proceeding.

Plutar. in
Solons lyfe.

THAT

THAT THE EVIDENCE

against Squire was not sufficient in Law to geue him torment, & that therefore his confession extorted therby was voyd in Law, and his condemnation vniust.

CHAP. VIII.

BV T some perhaps wil say that although these two testimonies of the priue counsellour, and of Stanley were not sufficient in Law to condemne Squire yet they sufficed to geue suspition of the matter, and to make him apprehended examined and tormented, wher-vpon enfewed his confession which being ratified after by himself at the barre, was a sufficient warrant to the iurie to fynd him guilty, and to the Iudges to pronounce sentence against him of death, as they did.

*L. si cui ff. de
accusat Bart
in l. Calsius
de Sena.*

For satisfaction of this poynt I wil brieflie prooue, first that this evidence was not sufficient to geue Squire torment; secondly that his confession vpon torment was voyd in Law and lastlie that his ratification therof at the barre could not reualidate the same, and although for this purpose I must ayd my selfe of the Ciuil law as hitherto I haue donne, for lack of knowledge & bookes of our owne lawes, yet I am wel assured, no wyse and learned common lawyer can reiect the reasons alleadged by the ciuil law, as wel for that they are grounded on equitie and conscience (in which respect they are receyued and confirmed in lyke manner by the Ecclesiastical, and canon lawes of Christendome) as also for that our law, so farre admitteth the ciuil law, that in many cases yt remitteth vs vnto the decision thereof, as we may see in matters of testaments, and marriages, and in diuers cases of the chancery, for which purpose do serue our Arches, Admiraltie, and M. of the chancery, and this must needs haue place, much more in this case, then in many others, for that the tryal by torment

E

properly

properly belongeth to the ciuill law, and not to ours, which law of ours abhorring (as it seemeth) the crueltie, and rigour of torture doth exclude it from the tryal of cōmon causes (as before I haue sayd) and therefore if in any case it boroweth the vse therof, of the ciuill law, it must eyther vse it with the same circumstances, and conditions, or els with more moderation seing it tendeth more to mercie & pittie then the other doth.

Now then to the matter, though the ciuill law vseth torment in tryal of criminal causes, to force the partie to confesse the cryme yf he wil not voluntarily do yt, neuerthelesse yt ordeyneth that it shal be geuen with such circumsp̄ction, and consideration, as yf the forme and circumstances of the law be trulie obserued there is litle daunger or none at all of doing wrong to the party.

l. i. ff. de qu. First yt commandeth that the iudge begin not with torment neyther proceed hastily therto, but with mature consideration aswel of the qualitie and credit of the partie, as of the lykelihood and truth of the cryme obiected.

Bald. conf.
l. 19. verba in
questionis
ver septima
ratio lib. 1.

Bartol. l.
Maritus ff de
qu. l. cōfessio
extraudi-
cialis.

Bart. in l. qui
line nu. 6. ff.
de quzst.

Bart. ibid. nu.
7. Innocēte.
sicut extra de
Symon glos.
singul. in l.
in verbo vel
inditijs c. fa-
miliz her-
eiscum, re-
cepta a Bar-
tole Baldo &
Saliceto.

Secondlie that the euidence and proofes produced be most manifest as in the 4. Chapter of this treatise I haue sufficiently proued.

Thirddie that the witnesses shal be such as no lawful exception can be taken against them.

And although the Iudge may geue torment with one lawful witnesse that produceth *indiciū indubitatum* as the lawyers tearme it, an vndoubted and cleare euidence (as for example when there is an eye witnesse against whom no exception can be taken, for so sayth Bartol) yet when the sayd euidence is not so manifest two witnesses at least are required and the same to be contestes, that is to say, affirming one and the selfsame thing.

This being true; it appeareth that Squire was tormented against all law, for that the matter and euidence that was brought against him was neyther cleare, nor yet testified

testified by lawful and sufficient witness; for as for Staley besydes that he was subiect to many exceptions aswel of suspition of subornation, as also for being his accuser, in which respect he could not be a witness, his evidence was lykewise in it self so defections that yt could be of no moment or consideration in the world as I haue proued in the 6. Chapter.

And as for the letter which the priuie councelor testified he had seene, it was not proued to be a true and no counterfeit letter, and therefore no such cleare evidence as law requireth to the geuing of torment, besydes that yf his honour wil be taken for a witness yet he was not contestis with Stanley for that they did not testifie both of them one and the self same thing as is needful when the evidence is so weake as this, neyther did that letter mention any perticuler act but imployment of Squire in general, & for generalities no particuler man can be punished as sayth the law.

Therefore I conclude that he being tormented vniustlic, and against law the confession so extorted could not be of force to condemne him, though he ratified the same afterwards publicly at the barre; for all ciuil lawyers do agree, that yf the evidence be not sufficient to the geuing of torment, yea and also sufficiently proued (in such manner as before I haue declared) then the confession extorted therby is *nulla*, that is to say, to be accompted none at all, though the partie should ratifie it a thousand tymes after (for so they write) yea and further, that although after such ratification, there should be presented sufficient proofes (wherby yt should be manifest that the confession was true) yet yt could not be therby reualidate and made good in law for his condemnation, though it were in cases of assassinat

treason or any other lyke haynous cryme whatsoeuer, and this being true in the ciuil law, it cannot be contradicted by ours, which is more fauorable to lyfe, and admitteth no torture in tryal of causes for condemnation, nor relyeth so

Gloss. vnic
in l. qu. ha-
bendz. ff. de
qu. ff.
Foller. in
pract. crim.
to 307. nu.
Marf. conf.
95. num. 10.
Alex in l. qu.
in aliena G.
celus nu. 12.
Grammat.
conf. 37. nu.
6 & 7.
Bart. in l.
maritus n. 2.
ff. de qu. litem
Iulius Clarus
in practica
crim. qu. ff.
55. num. 14.

much vpon confession of the partie extorted by torment, as vpon sufficient euidence or lawful witnesse, which in this case of Squyre was none at all; in which respect the Iudges and Iurie hearing him say, that he had beene tormēted, and seing the euidence and witnes insufficient for the geuing of torment, ought to haue held his confession, and the ratification therof suspected, and so to haue at least suspended their iudgment vntil better proofes had beene produced; presuming that for as much as he might assure himselfe, that all the benefit he should reape by the reuocation of his sayd confession, would be but new torments worse then death, he resolved himself to ratifie the same and at his death to discharge his conscience, and to cleare himself, as those which accused me at Bruxels determined to do, and as infinite others haue donne in lyke cases. And that this was also his resolution it appeared manifestly at his death, at what tyme he vtterly denyed not only the fact, and all intention therof, but also that he had bene employed to any such end by any man, accusing his owne frayltie in that he had for torment belyed himself; which being considered with the weaknes of the euidence, doth no lesse manifest his innocencie and ours, then discouer the impietie of those that enueygled him to bely and slaunder himselfe & others, wherof I wil speake more hereafter.

AN

much

AN EXPOSTVLATION

which M. Cook her Maiesties

Attorney.

CHAP. IX.

FOR as much, as I vnderstand that M. Cook her Ma^{ty} Attorney was a principal actor in the tragedy of Squire, and played the part as wel of a kynd, as of a kindly cook, in seasoning such an vnflauory matter with salt teares, and of a notable calumniatour in belying and slandering me with father Walpole and others, charging me not only with discovering the matter to Stanley (whereof I haue spoken before) but also with imparting it to the King my maister of glorious memory, making his Ma^{ty} therby an abettour of that imaginary conspiracy, I cannot forbear to answere him breevly thereto, and to debate the matter with himself.

Therefore, good M. Cook, how simple soever yow conceiue me to bee, yet I would haue yow to vnderstand, that I haue not got so litle experience, and skil of Kings humors, in these 15. or 16. yeares that I haue haunted their courts, and serued some of them, that if I should haue employed Squire or any manels, to kil her Ma^{ty} I would haue acquaynted any king or souerayne Prince therewith, whereby they might take me for a Queene or King killer; for howsoeuer the act might turne to their benefits, or be to their lykings, I am sure they would say with Augustus Caesar, I loue the treason but I hate the traytour, besides that I am not ignorant that they hold it for a necessary

Plutar. in the
lyfe of Ro-
mulus.

poynt of state, to mayntayne the soueraigne maiesty of Princes as sacred and inuolable, yea though yt be of their very enemies, & therefore whē Darius was ouerthrowne by Alexander the greate, and trayterously killed after wards by a subiect of his owne called Bessus, he recommended

Iust. lib. 11.

the reuenge thereof to no other, but to Alexander himself, saying that yt was not his particular but the common cause of Kings, and a matter of necessary example, which should be both dishonorable and dangerous, for him to neglect, in which respect Alexander afterwards reuenged the same, not esteeming (sayth the story) Darius to be so much his enemy, as he that slew him.

Idem lib. 12.

This consideration might haue suffised (I assure yow M. Cook) to withhold me from acquainting his Ma^{ty} with the matter, yf there had ben any such, but much more his Ma^{ty} great vertue, piety and Iustice, so knowen to all the Christian world (howsoeuer yow and your fellowes in your hemisphere are ignorant thereof) that I know not who durst haue presumed so much as to intimat any such matter to him, whose royal harte (the very harbour of honour and true magnanimity) was no more compatible with murders & mischiefs, the your base mynd is capable of Kingly conceits.

This shal suffice for answer to your discours of my imparting the matter to the King, seing there was no other ground thereof, but your owne imagination, which was no lesse Idle, then your head was addle all that day, being the morow after your mariage, as I vnderstand, when yow were not as yet come to your self, hauing left, as yt should seeme, not only your hart, but also your wits at home with my lady your wyfe, as yt may wel appeare by the abundance of teares yow shed in your pittiful pleading, whereof I cannot but say as Catulus sayd to a bad oratour that hauing employed all his eloquence to moue his audience to pitty, asked him his opinion thereof, whereto he answered; in truth (quoth he) yow mooued much pitty, for there was no man there, that thought not both yow & your oration much to be pittied, and so Sir I may say of yow, that no dout yow mooued all wyse men that were present to pitty yow, and to hold yow eyther for the simplest, or els the most malicious man that euer occupied your place,

Cicero lib. 1.
de part.

the sim-

the simplest if your teares were from the hart, & the most malicious yf they were fayned.

For though yow had ben a man of farre lesse vnderstanding in the lawes of England then one that should deserue to be the Queenes Atturney, and had not ben employed in the examinatioⁿ of the cause (as by all lykelyhood yow were) yet yow could not but note such weakenes & insufficiency of the euidence, such wresting of law, and consequently so litle appearence of truth, and lesse of her Ma^{ties} daunger, that yow could haue no cause of reares, except yt were to bewayle the lamentable case of the poore prisoner, yea and your owne, for being in great part guilty of his blood, which if yow saw not, but weapt in good earnest, for pittie of her Ma^{ties} your law serued yow for litle, and your wits for lesse, and I dare say there were some on the bench that laught wel in their sleeues to see your simplicity, and thought yow were more fit, (as good a cook as yow are) to be a turne spit in the Queenes kiching then her atturney in the kings benche.

But yf yow saw the poore mannes inocency & yet could shed teares lyke the crocodil to his distruction your malice surpassed all that euer I heard of. And truly the best that your best friends can conceiue thereof, is that it proceeded from some natural infirmity of a moyst and Ide brayne and therefore I would aduise my lady your wyfe, hereafter to keep yow at home, (seing yow haue such a childish trick when yow come a broad, to cry for nothing) or els to send with yow a nours with an aple to stil yow when yow cry, for otherwyse verely yow wil shame your self, and your friends, and so I leaue yow vntil yow geue me further occasion, which if yow do, yow may assure your self that I wil follow the councel of Salomon and answere a fool according to his foolishnes, least by other mennes silence he may think himself to be wyse.

AN APOLOGIE IN DEFENCE
OF THE LIKE SLAUNDERS
*rayfed diuers tymes heretofore against Catholykes, and
of the concurrence of calumniation and
persecution.*

CHAP. X.

YOUR lordships haue seene vpon what smal ground
or rather none at all Squyre was condemned, and
we heere flaundered, wherby yow may iudge how
Iustice is administred now in your Realme, by those
that are or should be the Ministers therof for the better de-
claration wherof, and the further iustification as wel of vs
heere for this matter, as also of all Catholykes for the lyke
flaunders rayfed against them diuers tymes heretofore
both at home and abroad, I wil be so bould as to represent
vnto your Lordships sundry manifest wronges, and open
iniustices donne vnto vs in this kynd, for yf this had beene
the first we should haue had lesse cause to complayne, &
this might haue passed the better vncōtrold, as many others
of lyke sort haue donne, but seing this māner of proceeding
against vs is now so vsual in England that it is growne to
a common practise, (and therby much guyltles blood shed
many innocent men flaundered, many weake scandalized,
the simple abused, and deceyued, the true cause of our suf-
fring obscured, and our religion defamed) no reasonable
man can blame me (I hope) if vpon so iust an occasion, as
the defence of my brethren, our common cause, and my
selfe, (that am more perticularly interessed in this matter
then many others) I lance a litle this long festring sore, to
the end that the malignitie therof being discovered, it may
receyue some cure and remedie through your Lordships
wisedomes, whome yt importeth, and in whose hands yt
resteth to remedie the same.

For this purpose may it please yow to consider that ther
is such

is such a symphathy betwixt persecution & calumination as they are euer lightly found to concurre and go accompanied, for besyds that calumination is of it self a kynd of persecution, we neuer read that Gods Church was euer persecuted, but his seruants were calumniated & slaundred in which respect our Sauour forewarning his Apostles, & Disciples of the persecutions that they were to suffer, armeth them no lesse against slaunderous, and calumnious tongues, then against other furious assaultes of his & their enemies, saying, happy are yow when men shal rayle vpon yow, and persecute yow, & speak all euil of yow, belying yow for my sake; and after exhorting them to pray for their persecutours insinuateth also the concurrence of calumniatours, saying pray for them, that persecute and caluminate yow; and S. Paule speaking of persecution rayfed against him, & the rest of the Apostles sayth, we are cursed and we blesse, we are persecuted, and we indure yt, we are blasphemed and wee beseech.

Matth. 5.

Ibidem.
1. Cor. cap.

This wil be also more manifest yf we consider the nature and propertie of the cheife persecutour of Gods Church, whose armes, and instruments all other persecutours are, I meane the deuill himselfe, who being (as the Scripture sayth) a lyer, and the father of lyes, yea and a slaunderer (in which respect he is called Diabolus which signifieth nothing els in the greeke tongue but a calumniatour) can no more forbear to lye, and slaunder, then the dog to bark, when he is augrie, or the snake to hisse, and therefore whosoever by Gods permission he maketh warre against the Church he employeth his instruments no lesse to slaunder and caluminate Gods seruants, then corporally to afflict and persecute them.

The deuils
name & nature.

Hereof the experience hath beene scene, in all the persecutions, aswel of our Sauour himselfe, as of his Apostles, & infinite other Martyrs whensoever the Church hath beene persecuted, eyther by Infidels or heretyks; our Sauour was slaundered to be a seducer of the people, to woork

Ioan. 7. & 10.

AN APOLOGIE IN DEFENCE

by the deuill, to be enemie to Caesar, to hinder the paying of his tribute, and lastly to make himself a King, S. Paule was falsly charged with prophaning the Temple, with sowing sedition, stirring vp the people to rebellion, and many other such lyke odious and greiuous matters, S. Stephen the first Martyr was stoned to death vpon the testimonie of false witnessses, that were suborned to accuse him of blasphemy against God and Moyse; In lyke sort in the persecutions vnder Nero, Dioclesian, Antonius & others the Chryistians were put to death vnder colour that they had set a fyre the citie of Rome, killed & sacrificed children eaten manes flesh & stirred vp the people to seditiō against the Emperours, and their Gods and religion.

The Arrian heretikes in Greece accused S. Athanasius to be a whore maister a witche, and a traytour: The Vandales that were also Arrians in Africk kyllled the Catholykes there vnder pretence that they had secret intelligence with the Romans against their state and gouernēt, as we are now: and lastly the Emperesse Theodora, wyfe to Iustiniā the Emperour did cruelly persecute S. Siluerius Pope of Rome and all his cleargie, obiecting falslie against them that they had written to the Gothes to inuite them to inuade the Roman Empyre, and other lyke calumniationes wherby to spil their blood with lesse admiratiō, and repugnance of the common people.

In all which it is to be noted, that (as S. Gregorie Nazianzen sayd of Iulian the Apostata, when he persecuted the Christians) the enemies of Gods Church endeouored by all subtyle & crafty meanes, to procure that they which suffred for Christs cause should be punished as wicked and facinorouse men yea and to make them and their religion more odious to all, they slaundered them commonly with matters pernicious, and dangerous to all as with treason against the Prince and State, so that whilest they were punished as publyke enemies & neyther fauoured nor pittied by any, their persecutors had free scope to discharge all
their

their furie vpon them without contradiction.

This hauing beene alwayes the custome and practise of the enemies of the Christian, and Catholyke fayth, which we professe, yt is no marueil though those which impugne the same in England in these our dayes (prouoked or rather possessed by the same spirit of lyes, and calūniations, that their prædecessours were) do hold the same course that they haue donne partly slaundering vs with such deuised matter as this of Squyre, which neuer had essence or being *in reuera natura*, but only in imagination and fiction of the deuisers, and partly ordayning lawes and statutes, wherby some principal points of Catholyke Religion, or els some necessarie consequence, exercise and issue therof being made treason many may be intrapped within some shew of offence against these lawes and statutes, wher-vpon agayne yt enseweth that the common people (who hold for Gospel all that our English parlament enacteth, and haue not the capacitie to discern betwixt a true and a fayned treason) hearing that the Catholykes are alwayes put to death as traytours (whome they vnderstand to be none but such as commit some heynous crymes against the Prince or state) are brought to imagin that all Catholyks are perturburs, and enemies of the common wealth, and that their religion is not the common, and general religion of Christendome or that ancient fayth in which all their forefathers liued, and dyed, and our Realme flourished so many hundred yeares together, but rather some particuler, and pestilent opinion of some sect sprong vp of late, that cannot stand with the safety of Kinges, and Princes, nor with the quietnes of their states.

And verely I dare say that such of the common sorte as are not aboue 40. yeares of age, and neuer saw Catholyke tymes in England and haue heard of so many executions of trayterous papists, as we are tearmed, do think Papistery to be nothing els, but a very compact of treason, or perhaps vnderstand that Papist, and

The fals-
hood of the
English per-
secutions.

traytour are but different wordes, that signifie one and the selfe same thing, so that although all persecutours haue sought to couer their persecutions with the cloke of treason, I thinke none haue wrought yt so cunninglie as ours haue donne by meanes of these lawes seconded with such slaunders as this of Squire against Father Walpoole and mee and others heer, of which kynd, there haue beene so many, and of such diuers sortes in sundry partes of England these later yeares, as neyther I, nor perhaps any one parricular man can take vpon him to discouer the same, and therefore I wil only touch with conuenient breuitie a few, which eyther are within the compasse of my owne knowledge and remembrance, or haue come to my vnderstanding by vndoubted, and assured meanes, and may be proued by sufficient witnesses that were present thereat, yf need require, and libertie graunted to make the proof.

OF THE MOST NOTORIOVS

iniustice committed in the condemnation of Father Edmond Campion of the Societie of Iesus, and of eleuen other learned and godly Priests for a fayned conspiracy against her Ma^{tie} and the state in the yeare 1581.

CHAP. XI.

IAM sure there are many yet liuing that were present at the araygnment of that worthy man Father Campion of the Societie of Iesus, & of eleue venerable Priests with him, and do remember the notorious iniustice donne vnto them in sight of all the world, who were indyted and condemned in the yeare of our Lord 1581. For a certayne conspiracie made at Rome & Rhemes in Frace to dispose her Ma^{tie} of the crowne by in-

by inuasion of the realme with the helpe of forrayne Princes, the whch conspiracy was supposed to be held in the moneth of May of the precedent yeare to wit the 22. of her Ma^{ties}. Raigne at Rome and Rhemes, for proof wherof first spake the Queenes soliciter and Atturney with other of the Queenes counceill who began to dilate the matter with large discourses (as the old Roman oratours were wont to do when they ment to draw out the day and leaue no tyme to their aduersaries) handling theses only, & not hypotheses, to wit general propositions and comon places of the greiuousnesse of treason, of the peril of Kingdomes where traytours liue and do cloke their intensions with shew of Religion, of the great importāce of the safte of her Ma^{ties}. person and the daungers she had passed, and how much she was maligned by Catholykes both at home and abroad and other lyke stuffe.

Then came they to declare how many wayes rebellions and tumultes had byn attempted by such kynd of people, as the excommunication of Pius Quintus, the hanging vp of it by M. Felton, the rysing in the North by the Earles of Northumberland and Westmerland, the late attempts of Doctor Sanders and others in Ireland, and when no end was made in amplifying & exaggerating of these matters, the prisoners often tymes desyred that they would come to the perticuler poynts of the inditement and proue some perticularities against any one of them of whom some said that nothing was alleadged but original sinne, & the factes of others, some that they were very children when most of the matters alleadged did happen, some that they were of farre different places, states and conditions.

And when these accusers or rather declamers went stil forward to vrge the insurrections of other Catholykes against these that were present F. Campion among other thinges sayd, Sir, supposing that diuers men Catholyke in Religion hauing for the sayd Religion, or other causes taken sometymes armes (as of Protestants

AN APOLOGIE IN DEFENCE

also I thinke, no man can deny yt that considereth what hath passed in our dayes in Germanie, Fraunce, Flaunders and Scotland) yet what is this to any of vs heere at the barre, though we be of the same Religion, this doth not proue vs to be of the same action; yf a sheep were stolne and a whole familie called in question for the same were it a good manner of proceeding for the accusers to say your great grand fathers and fathers, and sisters and kynsfolke loued all mutton, ergo yow haue stolne the sheep, if yow wil proue any thing against vs M. Attorney and Solicitor yow must leaue your ranging speech & come to say thow Cápion or thow Sherwyn, or thow such a one, hast done, or dealt, or committed this act.

This sayd that seruant of God, and to all indifferent men that were present his demaund seemed most iust and reasonable, but yet would yt not be hard for a great while, at last notwithstanding were brought in certayne witnesses whose names were Slead, Cradock, Munday, & Eliot. The first had bene a seruing man in Rome and sayd he had heard by common report that some styrres were lyke to be shortlie in England; Cradock had byn a broken Merchant about Italie, and imprisoned in Rome for a spie and testified of one that to comfort him in prison should say, he was happie that he was foorth of England, seing yt was lyke that great troubles would ensue there; Munday was a player of commedies, and had byn some fewe dayes in Roome, and could say litle or nothing at all; Eliot was a seruingman who hauing byn a Catholyke before, but now in danger for stealing away a yong gentlewoman out of M. Ropers house, and for suspicion of a robbery for which he and his friends were bound to appeare at the next assyses) to get himself free, betrayed first his best and greatest frend M. Payne a Priest, and afterward took F. Campion and now came into iudgment, not to accuse any particuler man present of any matter of weight but to make them odious by relating a certayne
fiction

fiction of his owne against M. Payne absent but in the tower whom he accused to haue told him of a deuise that had byn thought of to kyl her Ma^{tie} in tyme of progresse or hunting with fiftie armed men, which the other after vpon his death took to be most false.

Now then all these witnesses being brought in, and saying no more in effect them heer hath byn layd downe how insufficient there depositions were to condemne any one of this companie, and much lesse all and euery one of them together I referre me to the iudgement of any man that hath but common sence, for albeit we graunt that these witnesses were all honest men, (as it is euident they were lewd and infamous fellowes) what proued they against F. Campion or any of the reste there arayned? what particularities brought they of the conspiracie, and pretended inuasion as with what forces yt should be done, what forreyn Princes had ben treated with all, and how or by whome the matter had beene negociated, & by what meanes they at Rome conferred with them at Rhemes and how it came to passe that the conspiracie came to be held by so many seuerall persons, and in such distant places at one tyme, as in the end of one moneth of May? no doubt for the condemnation of the prisoners, yt had beene requisite that yf not all, at least some of these particulars should haue beene proued, eyther against them all or at least against some one of them as yt is euident yt was not, for though we should graunt that some bodie had told Slead, or Cradock in Rome that there would be great styrres in England shortlie, what did that touch F. Campion in particular or any of the rest?

And wheras one sayd that he had heard also at Rhemes of some such styrres lyke to ensue, what proued this against any of those that came from Rome, or yet against those that were come from Rhemes diuers yeares or monethes before or els afterward seing that there was at that tyme neare hand 200. English at Rhemes of whom it could not be

AN APOLOGIE IN DEFENCE
not be with any reason presumed that they were all priuie
of the conspiracie, yf there had byn any such, and yf only
some were priuie therof how did it appeare that those
which were araygned were of that number seing the
witnesses did not particulerlie charge any of them there-
with?

Lastly he which testified that M. Payne the Priest, told
him of a conspiracy of some Catholykes to kyl the Queene
in a progresse what proued he against any of them at the
barre, seing that M. Payne was none of their companie, and
the matter altogether differēt from the other where vpon
they were indited.

Was this then such playne and sufficient euidence as is
necessarie in law for condemnation of a man in matter of
lyfe and death, which euidence as before I haue shewed in
Squyres case, ought to be as cleare as the Sūne, not general
but particuler, not of hearesay, but of assured, and certayne
knowledge and testified by witnesses, auouching one and
the self same particulers.

But what need I labour to ouerthrow their testimo-
nies by law seing it was cleare to all them, that were pre-
sent at their araignmēt's or deathes, that they were neyther
all knowne one to an other, neyther yet to the witnesses
themselues, before they were brought to the barre and
that some of them were in England and some in other
places, at the same tyme that they were supposed to haue
cōspired at Rome and Rhemes as diuers of them affirmed,
and was by the othe of M. Thomas Lancaster manifestly
proued of M. Colington the Priest, who was quit ther-
vpon, and the lyke was also auouched of an other of them
by one M. William Nicolson who being present and mo-
ued in conscience to testifie a truth, called to the Iudges
from the place where he stood, and offred to depose that
he knew that one of the prisoners (whose name I haue
forgot) was otherwhere then was sayd in his inditemēt, at
the same tyme that the cryme was supposed to be com-
mitted,

mitted, which offer of his, served to no other purpose, then to bring himselfe in the bryres, for being examined what he was, and found to be a Priest he was presently sent to prison.

Also M. Thomas Ford, and M. Iohn Shert two of the Priests that were condemned, protested not only at the barre, but also at ther deathes that they were in England at that tyme, and some yeares before that the conspiracie was supposed to be made at Rome and Rhemes, which M. Ford sayd he could proue by 500. witnessses, but that he feared to bring his frends in trouble thereby, wherto M. Shert also added that Munday his accuser had publikly confessed, that he had neuer seene him eyther at Rome, or Rhemes, which Munday being present could not deny; and M. Robert Iohnson an other of the same company executed next after M. Shert having protested his innocencie as all the rest had donne before, alleadged for proof therof, that he had neuer in his lyfe seene some of those that were condemned as his complices, vntil he came to the barre, and Munday the principal accuser of him, and of the others, being commanded by the officers to charge him with the cryme to his face, confessed openly that he had neuer knowne or seene him beyond the seas.

Lastly M. Luke Kyrbie who as before is mentioned was particularly accused by one of the witnessses to have told him, that there would be stirres shortly in England, did not only by probable arguments overthrow his testimony at the tyme of his death, but also perswaded him earnestlie to repentance for his fals accusation, by the example of Iohn Nicols (one that had also falsly accused him and the rest) who being moved with remorse of conscience, came to him some dayes before to the prison in the towre, and in the presence of 4. witnessses (wherof one was his keeper) reuoked all that he had sayd, and written against them; and this I say, M. Kyrbie did not only protest at his death, but also found means to write a few dayes before

to a friend of his, which letter is yet extant, wherein he also declareth, that Nicols sayd vnto him at the same tyme, that Munday & Sled (who were two other of their accusers) were forced to accuse them by the importunitie of others, and that he could discouer notable villanies of them; which he sayd he would do and in discharge of his conscience geue to vnderstand to Syr Francis Walsingham, and S^r. Owen Hopton, how vniustly they were all condemned.

Thus your Lordships haue heard what substantiall witnessses these were, and how friuolous, impertinent yea and flatly fals were there depositions, which the Iurie and iudges, acknowledged sufficiently, when they did quit M. Collington, vpon the othe of M. Thomas Lancaster, wherby also they conuincd themselves of notable iniustice in condemning the rest, for yf the testimony of the witnessses deserued to be reiectd in Collingtons cause, (who was accused ioyntly with the others, and as deeplie as they) it ought not to haue beene admitted against any of them it being a rule & maxime in Law that *iuramentum est infalsibile*, an oth cannot be deuied, so as one part may be true and the other false, and therefore being disproued in part is to be reiectd in the whole, as all Ciuilians do vniformely affirme.

And truly my Lords the iniustice was so notorious to all men of Iudgment, that assisted at the arraignment, yea and to the Iurie themselves, that one of them, being after asked by a familier friend of his with what conscience he could condemne them vpon that euidence, answered he could do no lesse, for otherwayes he should not haue beene taken for a friend to Caesar. Iudge Wray also that was the cheefe, and gaue sentence the first day, being called vpon the next to go and sit vpon the rest (for they were deuied into two dayes) was heard to say to the other officers when he went out of his owne house, that except matters passed in better order, and more substantially then the day before, all of them would be shamed about that matter. And I protest that

Alex. in l. si
ex falsis nu.
23. c. de tran-
sact. & conf.
27. nu. 3. li. 2.
quem refert
Decius conf.
105. & Crotta
in verbo iu-
ramentum
est quid Al-
ciat lib. 1. c.
sed & simili
num. 43 ff. de
verborum
oblig. Iulius
clarus in pra-
ctica crim. q.
51. §. 8.

that a gentleman of Lincoln's Inne a student of the law, & a familiar friend of myne (though an earnest protestant) hauing beene at the araygnment told me the day after in fleetstreet that the euidence against Capion was so weake, that vntil he heard the iurie geue their verdict, he could not perswade himselfe, that they would or could fynd him guiltie, and when I asked him how it could stand with conscience to condemne innocent men, content your self; quoth he, it was necessary for the state, wherto what I replied shal not be needful to signifie in this place, but what a state that may be, and how likely to stand, that needeth to be vpholden with the blood of innocents, I will declare in parte hereafter.

And for conclusion of this matter I remit it to the Iudgment of any indifferent and vnpassionate man, whether it be liklie, that so many could be guiltie of such a conspi-
 racie, and passe such cruel torture, as all of them did, and yet not any one of them eyther for rigour of torment or for conscience sake confesse it sooner or later, which none of them euer did, but stood all to the denial of yt, to their deathes, and then also took yt vpon their saluations, that they were innocent, alleading and vrging diuers arguments, and reasons for the proof thereof wherein I appeale to some of your Lordships that were present at the execution of some of them, yf not of all; and seemed to be not a little edified with the sincere pietie, deuotion, and feruente desyre, they shewed to saue their soules, which could not be compatible with fals protestations, or rather damnable periurie as theirs must needs be, if they were any way guiltie.

And I doubt not but all such as werethere, do also remember what dutiful affection they shewed towards her Ma^{ties} person in particular for whom they prayed most earnestlie, and when some of curiositie, or rather of a praiudicate opinion of their disloyaltie, demanded of them for what Queene they prayed, suspecting they had

ment the Queene of Scotland, they answered for our so-
 what Quee ueraigne Ladie Elizabeth Queene of England which was
 a sufficient testimony of their loyal hartes, free from
 all those treasonable intensions, and practises wherewith
 they were charged.

This then being considered, and the insufficiency of
 the euydence before declared, no man can be so wil-
 fully blynd as not to see their innocencie and the open
 iniurie donne vnto them, the lyke wherof I think hath
 not beene red nor heard of amongst Christians; as that
 so many, and so worthy men should be condemned al-
 together, and as a man may say in grosse, for matters
 that could not be proued, no nor iustly presumed of
 any one of them all, but so barbarous a thing is he-
 relie that where yt beareth sway, yt banisheth not only
 true Religion, but also all pietie, iustice conscience,
 and shame, wherof yf the iudges, Iurie, and lawyers,
 that handled and determined this cause had had any
 feeling at all, that tribunal which hath hertofore beene
 a mirrour of iustice, could not haue beene stayned
 and infamed with such an execrable murder of so many
 innocent men, amongst whome where some, whose rare
 and singuler partes, their very enemies could not but
 acknowledge, and all Christendome admired: but let vs
 see some others.

OF THE

OF THE LIKE INIVSTICE

*used against M. Payne a Priest, for a surmised
conspiracie against her Ma-
jesties person.*

C H A P. XII.

IN the yeare of our Lord 1582. a vertuous Priest called M. Iohn Payne, hauing beene prisoner in the Tower some tyme was transported from thence into Essex to be arayned for conspiring the death of her Ma^{ty}. and was there condemned for the same partly vpon certayne weake, and friuolous presumptions, but cheiflie vpon the testimonie of one false witnes, and betrayer of him, named George Eliot.

The præsumptions were these, the first that aboue five yeares before he had bene in Fraunce and Flanders, the second that he was made Priest by the Bishop of Cambray, and that he had geuen oth of obedience vnto the Pope. The third, that in Flanders he had spoken with traytors, as the Earle of Westmerland, Doctor Allen and Doctor Bristow.

The witnes testified that M. Payne had sayd to him some yeares before, that many plots had beene layd, & attempts made for the reformation of Religion in England, though none had succeeded, and that which seemed to him the best and most lykly, was one that my Lord of Westmerland, and the Doctors Allen, and Bristow had tould him that is to say to kil the Queene and some of her Councel, with 50. armed men, as she should go her progresse, and presently to declare the Queene of Scotland for Queene of England, adding further that it was no more offence to kil her Ma^{ty}. then to kil a cock, or a hen.

J. Paynes
answere.

To all this he answered so sufficiently, as I shal not neede to trouble my self further then to make relation therof, for first to the presumptions he sayd, that of his passing to Flanders, his taking orders of the Bishop of Cambray, and his speaking with D. Allen, and Doctor Br stow, there could be iustly presumed no further matter against him then that he was a Catholyke Priest, for that many did the same, without any intention or imagination of treason against her Ma^{tie} with the which those things had no affinitie, and as for my Lord of Westmerland he protested, he had neuer spoken with him in his lyfe.

To the testimony of the witnes he answered, first that he excepted against him as his betraier & mortal enemy, because the said witnesse knew that he suspected him for a murder that had beene committed; Secondlie he sayd he could proue that he was infamous for robberies and other crimes, and particularly for deceyuing & cosining a Ladie (whom he named) of a certayne summe of money, lastly he vrged vnto the Iurie a most essential point to be considered as that he was but a single witnes, and therefore could not suffice in law to condemne him, all which awayld him nothing, for notwithstanding, the Iurie would needs fynd him guiltie, and when the Iudge asked him what he could say further why he should not haue sentence of death, he insisted much vpon the point aforesaid, saying it was against all law humayne and diuine to condemne him or any man els, vpon the testimonie of one infamous witnes, wherto the Iudge made no other answer, then that the Iurie knew whether he was guiltie or no, and when he replied, that they were simple & ignorant men, & theyther knew what was treason nor law, and in feare of perill if they should quit him, and therefore desired him to instruct them therein, he answered nothing but presently proceeded to sentence and condemned him to death, according to which sentence he was after executed, and at his death

death being importuned by my Lord Riche and others at the place of execution to confesse his treason, he prayed to almighty God that he might neuer be pertaker of his glorie, yf he had euer so much as imagined any such matter against her Ma^{ty} as was layd to his charge, and so he prayed my Lord Riche to signifie vnto her, beseeching God to preferue her in all felicitie spiritual, and temporal to his most glorie and to her owne best good euery way, and so dyed forgeuing all, and praying for all as a blessed innocent man should do.

OF THE LYKE VNIVST CON-

demnation of M. Iames Fen, and M. George

Haddock Priests vpon the lyke false

pretences.

CHAP. XIII.

IN the yeare of our Lord 1584. 2. Priests called M. Iames Fen, and M. George Haddock were condemned at Lōdon for cōspiring the death, of her Ma^{ty} ioynly together at Rome, whereas M. Fen protested at the barre vpon the Saluation of his soule that he had neuer seene the other Priest that was sayd to be his confederate, before they were brought thither to be araygned, and that he was neuer in Rome in his lyfe, nor nearer thereto then Rhemes in France for ought he knew, and further offered to proue by sufficient witnessses that he was in England, ~~and~~ also in prison at the very same tyme that this conspiracy was supposed to be made in Rome, which when he pressed much as matter sufficient to cleare him, the iudge answered, that although there might be errour in the places, and circumstances yet it was manifest that he was a traytour and therefore should dy for the same as afterwards he did

AN APOLOGIE IN DEFENCE

he did together with the other Priest, who took it both of them vpon their deathes, that they were innocent of all that matter that they were condemned for, and particularly M. Fen hauing recommended his soule to almightie God, did also beseech him to keep and preserue her Ma^{tie}. protesting that he had euer borne such a loyal affection towards her, that he would not haue donne her any hurt for all the world, no not in the least beaire of her head, though he had had neuer so much power and oportunity to do the same.

Hereby your Lordships may see what equitie and iniustice is vsed towards Catholykes, in whose causes every vayne suspicion is taken for a vehemēt presumption, every presumption for a proof, every wittnes for lawful, how insufficient soeuer he be, no answer though neuer so much to the purpose admitted, no indifferency vsed, no Law observed, wherto I wil ad that when it hath beene in some cases euidently proued that the wittneses were suborned, & hyred for money, their testimonies notwithstanding haue beene held for good and the prisoners haue byn condemned ther vpon, as was manifest in the cause of two Catholykes condemned in Wales, vpon the statute of perswading others to Catholyke religion, which though yt was not matter of conspiracie against her Ma^{tie}. and the state, yet it may serue for an example of the iniustice vsed against Catholykes, and so wil I touch yt in the chapter following.

OF TWO

OF TWO CATHOLIKES

in wales condemned vpon the testimonie of witnesses suborned, and hyred for money.

CHAP. XIII.

TWO substantial men the one cauled Ihon Hewes & the other Richard White, hauing beene many mes most cruelly tormented, and examined by S^r. George Bróley, & others his assistants in the Marches of Wales, & cōfessed nothing wher-vpon hold might be taken to execute any of the captious lawes vpon them, were neuerthelesse deligned to the slaughter, and for that purpose 3. witnesses were suborned to accuse them, that they had perswaded some to be Catholykes: the prisoners being arayned ther-vpon, excepted against the witnesses, that one of them had beene nayled on the pillorie for periurie in the same shyre as it was notoriousslie knowne to all men, and that aswel hee as the rest were hyred to testifie against them, the iudges answered to the first exception, that though the partie had beene periured in one case yet he might say true in an other, and then did put the prisoners to the proof of the subornation for which purpose, they auowed that a gentleman of good estimation, who was then in the same towne could testifie it, and therfor desyred he might be called, the gentleman was sent for, and being deposed, witnessed, that one Peter Roden told him that Gronow, (for so was one of the witnesses cauled) and his companions had receyued 15. shillings a peece to geue testimonie against the prisoners, and that he was also offred so much himself, and had refused it. The iudges knowing belyke that this was true, & fearing that it would be made too manifest; would

H

not

not send for Peter Roden, but reiected the testimony of the Gentleman as improbable, saying what should any man gayne by the death of these men, that he should suborne witnesses against them? and so without further tryal of the truth therof, bad the Iurie go together, who hauing some scruple to condemne them vpon the testimonie of such infamous, and suborned witnesses could not agree thervpon, vntil two of them had beene to conferre with Sr. George Bromley, by whom as it should seeme, their consciences were so wel satisfied, that they found them guiltie, where-vpon they were condemned, and the one of them called Richard White executed at wrexham where he had beene long tyme before prisoner.

OF VVILLIAMS YORKE, AND

Patrick Cullen executed also for fayned conspiracies against her Ma^{ties} person.

CHAP. XV.

BV T to retorne to fayned conspiracies against her Ma^{tie}. I omit diuers for lack of perfect knowledge of the particularities, and wil speake only of some published 4. or 5. yeares agoe in a pamphlet printed in diuers languages, as in English, Frésh, and Duitch, concerning a conspiracy of Doctor Lopez, and two other portugueses, in which pamphlet two Englishmen called Williams, and Yorke, and Patrick Cullen an Irishman, were charged to haue conspired the death of her Ma^{tie} by the instigation of the banished English Catholykes at Brussels.

And for as much as the pamphleter would seeme to iustifie the condemnation, and execution, of the sayd two English-

Englishmen, & the Irishman by their owne confessions, I will but desyre your Lordships for the discouery of that fiction, only to consider the circumstances thereof, not meaning to medle with the matter of Doctor Lopez and his fellowes, because no English Catholyke was charged therewith.

The pamphleter sayth they confessed that the English Catholykes at Brusells held certayne counceils amongst them-selues, whereat were present two Doctors of diuinity, a Iesuit, 5. or 6. gentlemen and others, all which are named in the pamphlet, who he sayth conspired altogether the death of her Mayestie, and perswaded Williams, and Yorke to vndertake the execution thereof, with the promise of fortie thousand crounes, & that for the greater satisfaction, and faster binding of them, father Holt the Iesuit took the blessed Sacramēt (which he had brought to the council) kissed yt, and gaue yt vnto them, swearing vpon the same, that he would pay them the sayd some, when they should haue effected that which they had promised.

For the examinatio of this supposed confession, I would wish to be considered, what likelyhood or probability there is, that those two soldiers Williams, & Yorke, both of them young men (whereof the first was held but for a cold and weake Catholyk, and the later suspected to be a protestant, as in deede he was, & then newly come from England, without any recommendation, or testimony of his affection to Catholyke religion, or of his good behaviour) could winne so much credit so quickly, amongst such principal Catholykes, as to be admitted to their counceils (yf they had held any) and to bee made partakers of so high a secret, especially seing that the Catholykes on this syde the sea are not ignorant, that spyes are dayly sent from England, to discouer what passeth amongst them, in which respect they are so farre from trusting in weighty affayres those they know not, as they hold sus-

Aburd im-
probabilities.

pected those of their owne religiō, that come from thence and bring not sufficient recommendation, what shew otherwyle fouer they make of zeale to the Catholyke sayth;

Is it then credible that so many graue personages, Doctors, Priests, and gentlemen, all of them wyse, and men of experience would recommend such a matter, as the killing of her Ma^{tie} to men vnknownen vnto them, suspected, yea and mercenary, (seing as the pamphlet sayth they ment to do yt for hyre) did they not know (seing all the world knoweth yt) that no man can attempt such a matter without loosing his owne lyfe, or putting the same in euident daunger, whether hee hit or misse (whereof the late examples, aswel of those that killed the Prince of Orange, and the last King of France, as of those that haue fayled to kil him that now raygneth do geeue sufficient testimony) in which respect neither those two that were supposed to vndertake this act for recōpence, could haue any probable hope euer to enioy the reward promised, neyther those Priests and gentlemen could persuaue themselves, with any reason, that these or any others that should promise to doe the same for any such consideration of reward would euer execute it.

Furdermore is yt probable, that those two which should doe the feat, would consent that a matter so dangerous for them should be communicated to so many, or that the principal of the sayd supposed councelers, being men of greate consideration & dayly practised in affayres would condescend to treate such a matter in a councel of men so different in quality, and humours, as it is well knowne they were, that the pamphlet nameth; seing some of them for causes not vnknowne, I am sure, to the pamphleter, did sears communicate togeather in matters of common conuersation, and much les in matters of such importance, yea and that some others of them were held suspected, of most of that company, to haue secret intelligence

ligence with some counsellours in Englad, for the which they were afterwards cauled in question? and therefore it were an absurd thing to think that so many so diuersly disposed, and affected, and some of them suspected of the rest, should treat together a matter of so great secrecie, weight, and daunger, as the killing of her Mayesty, besydes that, it is euident (and vpon my knowledge I affirme it) that of those which were named to be of this imaginary council at Brussels, some did resyde ordinarily in Antwerp, some at S. Omers, and some at Mastrich, yea and were in the sayd places of their ordinary residence, at the same tyme that the pamphleter sayth they held these councils at Brussels, which being knowne in Flanders to be most true did serue notably for the detection of this flaunderous fiction among the wyser sort of those of that country, which did read the pamphlet in french, or dutch, who wondred no lesse at the autors impudency in this behalf, then they laughed also hartely at his folly, when they noted the ridiculous iest of sa. Holts carying the blessed Sacrament to the supposed council, his kissing it, & swearing vpon it, when he did minister it, to Williams, and Yorke; which are things so farre from the custome and vse of the Catholyke Churche, as euery child on this syde the sea, knoweth it to be an impudent and grosse lye;

And where as the pamphleter relyeth wholly vpon their confessions for the iustification of their condemnation, yt is most certayne that howsoever they might be forced by torment secretly to confesse those particulers, or otherwyse falsly to accuse themselues, as Squyre was, yet Williams at his death vtterly denyed the same, and as for York yt was euident ynough, that he dyed distracted of his senses, and was not in case to deny or confesse, any thing at that tyme, as all those that were present at their deaths maye wel remember.

And as for Patrick Cullen, (of whome I wil speak a

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Patrick Culen
at his death.

woord or two) yt is manifest that he neuer confessed ey-
ther publikly or priuaty that he was any way employed
against her Ma^{ty} person, which at his death M. Toplif
acknowledged sufficiently, when he sayd vnto him, yt is
now no more tyme (Culen) to disguise the matter, seing
thou must dy, and therefore confesse thy treason, and aske
her Ma^{ty} forgiuenes, whereto he answered *that he called*
God to Witnes that he was neuer employed against her Ma^{ty} nor
came into England with any such intention, and yet the pam-
phleter affirmeth that he was also condemned vpon his
owne confession, though he lay downe no particularities,
nor circumstances therof, in which respect it needeth no
further answer and therefore to conclude; yt resteth only
that I here protest, as I do before God, that I being at
Brussels at the same tyme that these men were executed,
and the pamphlet published, some of the principal of those
gentlemen that were slandered with these matters, did
I sweare vnto me, and take it most deeply vpon the charge
of their soules, that they neuer had any acquaintance, or
conference, with Williams and York, in their liues, nor
euer knew them otherwyse then by sight, & that there
was neuer held amongst them any such counsels, or as-
semblies, nor any of those 3. any way employed against
her Ma^{ty} person for ought they knew, which as I take
my selfe in conscience bound to beleue, (knowing the
greate integrity and verrue of the parties, as I do) so I
haue thought good vpon this occasion to testify it vnto
your Lordships, and to all others that shal read this Apo-
logy, for your more abundant satisfaction in this be-
half.

OF THE

OF THE ENDS THAT OVR

Aduersaries haue or may haue in slaundering Catholykes with such treasonable attemptes, & first of the end that they haue common with all persecutors of Gods Church and how much they faile of their purpose therein.

CHAP. XVI.

IT appeareth (my Lords) by these examples that the slaundering of Catholykes with treasonable attemptes in our coutry is no new practise, but an old for many yeares, and so oft reiterate, that it is now growne to be stale and a common custome, or rather held for a special and necessarie point of state, but with what benefit to the state, it shal be discusse after when I shal haue brieflie declared the ends that the Autors of these calumniationes haue or may haue therein, the which may be considered, eyther as common to all the enemies of Catholyke religiō, or els as particuler to these our Aduersaries now a dayes, of the first I haue spoken before discoursing of the concurrēce of calumniation and persecution, where I proued that it hath beene alwayes the custome of the persecutors of Catholykes to seek by imputation of fals crymes to obscure the true cause of their sufferings, and consequently the glorie of their martyrdomes, wherein neuerthelesse how much they haue fayled of their purpose (I meane as wel these of our tyme, as those other their predecessours) it is euident by common experience, seeing almightie God hath in all ages so disposed, and dayly doth for his owne glorie, that the cleare light of truth, and innocencie hath disperfed the clouds of calumniation in such sort that his seruants haue triumphed ouer all the malice of men, and remayned no lesse glorious with a double

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double crowne of martyrdom then their enemies ignominious and odious for there double persecution.

The glory of
martyrs oppressed by
calumniatio.

For the proof hereof let vs look back to former tymes, & see what the persecutors of Gods Church, haue gayned by the lyke deuises; haue they therby any iote obscured the glorie of Gods seruants, who are esteemed, honoured, and serued through-out the Christian world for glorious Martyrs, and saynts of God, and receyue more honour, & glorie in one festiual day of theirs, then all the Monarks of the world in all the feasts of their lyfe? Are not the Altars & Temples buylded to God in their memories more triumphant then the thrones, and trophies of all earthly Kings? doth any Princes power extend it selfe so farre as theirs, whose dominion reacheth from the east to the west, frō the one Pole to the other, whose subiects, seruants, and supplyants, are not only the common people but Princes and potentates, Kings & Emperours, that crouch kneele and present their petitions, at their toombes and monuments, or whersoever ther is any litle memory of them? Are all the royal robes, crownes and diademes of Emperours and Kings so much esteemed, and reuerenced in their owne Kingdomes as is throughout Christendome the least rag, or relyke of any one of them, wherto we see Almighty God geueth no lesse vertue and power oftentimes when it is for his glorie, and their manifestation, to cure the sicke, to heale the lame, to rayse the dead, to cast out Deuils, then he gaue to the hemme of our Saviours garment, to the hand kercheys that touched S. Paules body, to the shadow of S. Peter? This hath alwayes beene so notorious in Gods Church, that S. Chrysostome speaking of the great miracles done by the body and relykes of the blessed martyr saint Babilas, maketh the same a manifest argument against the Paynims to proue that Christ is God, which I wish by the way, that our Protestants in England may note for their confusion, seing that denying the vertue of saynts Reliks they do paganize with them,

Matth. 9.
A& 19.
A& 5.

Tom. 5. contra Gent.
quid Christus sit Deus in vita Babilas.

olduob

them, and do deny therby an euident argument of Christs diuinitie, but to proceed.

On the other syde what honour haue their calumniators, and persecutours purchased to themselves? are not their very names odious and execrable to all posteritie, & as the memory of the other is æternized with immortal glorie, is not theirs buried in æternal infamie? To this purpose sayth the book of wisdomes that the wicked shall see the end of the iust man, and shall not vnderstand what God hath determined of him, and why our Lord did humble him, they shall see him, and contemne him; but our Lord shall deride them, for they shall fall afterwards without honour, & shall euer be amongst the dead in shame and infamie.

Sap. cap. 4.

Hereby may our aduersaries partly iudge what they shall gayne in the end by murdering so many Catholyks as they do, vnder colour of treasons, and enormous crimes; but for their further satisfaction in this point let them look abroad into Christendome, and see what account is already made of their supposed traytors I meane such as die directlie for religion made lately treason, who of all Christian Catholyke people in the world are held for no lesse glorious martyrs, the those of the primitiue Church as appeareth not only by the publike testimonie of the most famous wryters of this age, but also by the deuotion that all Catholyks, yea and the greatest Princes, and potentates of Christendome do beare to the least relyke of any one of them, which they think themselves happie to haue, & keep with all due respect, and reuerence, besydes that it hath pleased almightie God to glorifie his name already with diuers notable miracles donne by the same, which hereafter will be knowne with sufficient testimony of the truth therof, and as for their martyrdomes I haue no doubt but as already they are knowne, acknowledged and honoured by all true Catholykes so in tyme also conuenient they will be approued by the

Autho-

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authoritie of the whole Church, whiles in the meane tyme the memory of their persecutors shal be damned, eyther to the deep pit of obliuion or els to euerlasting ignominie as they may see it hath alreadie happened to their prædecessours, and thus much for the end common to all persecutours.

OF OTHER ENDS PART

*culer to our English aduersaries and of their
disloyaltie therein towards her
Maiestie.*

CHAP. XVII.

TH E other ends particuler to our home aduersaries at this day may be thought to be partlie publyke, and for the common good (as they in the depth of their wisdom, or rather in the height of their follie do imagin) and partlie for their owne particular profit or emolument.

The publyke are these, first to incense the Queenes Ma^{tie} against vs to the end she may geue them leaue to exercise freelie all crueltie vpon vs, wherby they hope in tyme to destroy vs, and to extinguish the memorie of Catholyke religion, wherein I wish them by the way to note, how farre they are deceyued of their expectation, & how almightie God doth daylie infatuate, and frustrate their counsell, and turne them to their owne confusion, seing that notwithstanding all their rigour, there are at this day many more recusants in England, and sincere Catholyks that wil geue their liues for their Religion then ther were when the persecution first began; so that we see how true it is which Tertulian sayth *Sanguis Martyrum semen Ecclesia*, the blood of Martyrs is the seed of the Church; But to proceede.

The second is to irritate also her Ma^{tie} against the King Catholyke who is therefore comonly made an abettor of all those fayned conspiracies, least other wayes she being of her owne inclination desirous of peace, might come to some cōpotion with him, & so Christendome be brought to repose, which these mē imagin would in tyme grow to be daungerous to their gospel, or rather to their particular states & commodities which they may be presumed to esteeme more then any ghospel, but how this piece of pollicie standeth with true reason of state I wil signifie hereafter.

Thirdly it is not vnlikely, that the deuifers of these fayned conspiracies seeing themselves employed by your Lordships otherwhyles in some matters of state, take themselves for so great statists, that they make no doubt to extend their care further then your Lordships meane they should do, to wit to the whole state and gouernment yez to the person of her Ma^{tie} though litle to her good or comfort holding it a high point of policy, and necessary for the comon welth, that her Ma^{tie} be kept (as a man may say) in aw with thease bugbeares of imaginary attempts against her person, to the end shee may bee the more plyable and easy to be gouerned, for as the poet saith, *res est imperiosa timor*, feare is an imperious thing.

Martial lib. 7.
Epigram.

Furthermore the end which they may haue for their owne particular commoditie is to make themselves and their seruices more gratful to her Ma^{tie} and to your Lordships by their pretended discouerie of so many daungerous treasons against her Ma^{tie} and the state.

Whereto I wil ad that it also importeth your honours to consider whether any of those that are taken to be the cheife discouerers of these supposed treasons, may be thought to fauour the title of any particuler pretender to the crowne after her Ma^{tie} for in such case they may perhaps vse this artifice to shadow some designemēt of their owne, no lesse daungerous to her Ma^{tie} person then this

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which they feigne and lay to our charge, to the end they may the more assuredlie and securely execute the same, & that afterwards the suspicion and blame therof may rest vpon vs, which we read was the practise of Seianus in the tyme of Tiberius the Emperour, who aspiring to the Em-pyre, and determining to make away Agripina that was a great mote in his eye, first suborned some to put into her head that the Emperour meant to poyson her, and after made rumors to be spred all ouer Rome that some had conspired her death.

I say not this my Lords to charge any man particularly (for I know not who they are, that are the forgers of these false coynes) but because I see that the lyke practises haue beene vsed to the destruction of Princes, and may with reason think, that those which haue so litle conscience to procure the spilling of so much innocent blood by such damnable deuises as these, wil make lesse scruple to break all lawes humayn and diuine when there is question of a crowne, I therefore insinuate this to your honours as matter worthy of your consideration, especially seing it cannot be thought that they beare any good, and loyal affection to her Ma^{tie}. knowing that she cannot but be much afflicted with the vehement apprehension of these supposed treasons, and yet neuer ceasing to torment her therewith, framing dayly new fantasies of fayned feares, as though heauen and earth had conspired against her, the concept wherof (accompagnied with other cares incident to the gouernment of such a potent state) might suffise to procure the vntymely death of the most couragious prince that liueth, and what it may woork in her Ma^{tie} no lesse timorous of nature by reason of her sexe, then decaying now in bodilie vigour, by reason of her declining yeares, any man may easely iudge.

THAT

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fayth of Christendome, made treason, yea for fayned crymes neuer meant nor dreamt of.

Cice. offic.

Arist. epolit.
lib. 5.

Cicer epist.
ad Attidum.

Senec.

Sicion.

To this purpose it is to be considered, that no force, nor power is so great (as Cicero sayth) that can resist the hatred of a multitude, neyther any empyre so potent, that can long stand by rigour, oppression, and cruelty, & therefore amongst the causes of the ouerthrow of empyres, and Kingdomes, Aristotle worthely reckoneth hatred, and feare of the subiects; exemplifying the same with the smale continuance of all the tyranical states, that had ben in his tyme, or before; and Caesar confessing that he neuer knew any cruel man, that could long conserue him-self and his state, but only Sylla (which yet was not long) he wysely added, that he would not follow his example; wherein he had great reason, for one swallow as they say, makes no sommer, neyther can the example of a few which escape, counteruayle a common experience, that teacheth whateuident daungers do accompany cruelty, & oppression, which no humain power nor pollicy ca make secure, as it is euident enough to all wyse men that wil consider how litle securitie Kings, and Princes, that haue incurred the hatred of their people, haue found in the remedies, and defences, that humain pollicy hath inuented; I meane in their treasures, fortresses, gards, armies, multitude of spyes, wisdom and vigilance of counsellours, and such lyke; for haue not a number of them notwithstanding all this, ben by their subiects chastised, and reformed, deposed, expelled, imprisoned, killed, and those that haue escaped best, haue they not commonly liued a miserable lyfe, afflicted and tormented with continual feares, ielousyes, and suspicions of their best friends? for as Seneca sayth, *be that is feared of many must needs feare many* what did all the welth, power, and force of the Roman empyre auayle the Emperour Claudius, poysoned by his raster, and Nero so pursued by the people, that he was forst to cut his owne throte, or Domitian killed by his chamberlaynes, or

Come-

Comodus murdered by his concubyn, Phocas by one of his
cheefest fauorits, or Caligula, Pertinax, Caracalla, Helio-
gabalus, Pupienus, Balbinus, Philippe, Galien, Seuerus,
Macrinus, Aurelianus, Maximinus, Probus, with diuers
others, some of them slayn by their owne gards, and some
by their souldiars, to whome wee may ad the last King
of France, killed by one alone, in the midst of his pui-
sant army, when he thought himselfe most potent and
secure.

Ser Aurel
vict.
Capitolin
Lamprid.
Europ.

Whereby it euidently appeareth how vnsecure, daunge-
rous and pernicious are the pollicies of our aduersaries,
who following the absurd and pestilent doctrin of Ma-
chiauel think they can assure her Ma^{tie} estat by rigour
cruelty and iniustice wheareas both reason & experience
teacheth *that mercy and truth* (as Salomon sayth) *do preserve*
the Prince and that *his crowne*, and *throne is fortified with cle-* Pro. 20.
mency, to which purpose also Seneca sayth, *the loue of subiects* Seneca lib. 1.
is to the Prince a castel inexpugnable, and clemency a sufficient gard de elemen.
though he be alone in the midst of the market place, so that these cap. 19.
most cruel and bloody deuises of our persecutours, are not
only impious, but also foolish in that very point where-
in they wil haue them seeme most wyse.

But yf it be considered how they riuert this peece of
pollicy with an other point of state, and what may by
lykelihood ensue thereof, yt may be thought their mea-
ning is no other but to put fyre to gunpowder and to set
all on a flame and themselues also to burne therewith,
or to rúne away by the light for vsing the matter towards
vs as they doe, procuring so much as in them lyeth, to
alienat vs from our natural obedience to her Ma^{tie} and to
dryue vs to some desperat course (which neuerthelesse I
hope they shal neuer be able to doe) a man would think
they would at least seek to put her maiesty in peace with
her neighbours abroad.

But they are so farre from thesame, that they doe not
only incite her Ma^{tie} dayly against the most potent Prince
of Europ,

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Plutar. in the
lyfe of Ti-
molcon.

of Europ, by flaudring him vnto her, with practises
against her person and lyfe, but also do seek to kindle
him against her by infamous libels published in diuers
languages, and stuffed with lyes and flauders, with iniu-
rious and dishonorable speeches against his person to
make him an enemy irreconcilable; for who knoweth
not that iniurious woords offend much more many
tymes then deeds (as Plutark wel noteth) especially against
Princes that most of all esteeme their honours? for so
long as their contentions ar only for amplifying their do-
minions, or meerly for matter of state, the enmity com-
monly endeth with the occasion of the quarrel, and the
damgages are by restitution or recompence easely re-
payred (whereby wee see that those Princes which haue
had the greatest differences and warres betweene them
selues do many tymes after become the greatest con-
federats and frends) but personal iniuries especially tou-
ching honour and reputation, as they proceed from an
excesssyue hatred in them that offer them, so are they
not easely pardoned, neyther yet amongst Princes repa-
rable by any restitution.

In the lyfe of
Agis & Cleo-
menes.

What then is the meaning of these make-bates? wil
they oblige her Ma^{tie} to a perpetual warre not with some
petty Prince or poore potentat, but with the most potēt,
rich, and mighty Monark of Europe? and vpon what con-
fidence? is yt the welth and force of England? the strength
of allyes, and confederats? or yet the good successe of
these late warres, which mooues them therto? who
knoweth not that in power & welth her maiesty (though
she be most puissant and rich) yet is farre inferiour to
him? in which respect that which Plutark noeth of
Cleomenes King of Lacedemony, and Antigonus the
great King of Macedony, may wel be sayd in this
case.

*It seemed (sayth hee) to proceed of great wisdom, valour, and
prooves that Cleomenes could with the forces of one only state mayn-
taine*

sayne Warre against the power and treasure of the Kingdome of Macedony, and all the people of Peloponese and not only defend his owne, but also take places and towne of his enemies. But he which first said that money is the sinowes of warre had great reason, for euen as amongst wraflers those which haue strong bodies by nature, and hardened by continual exercise do alwayes in tyme ouertrow them which haue nothing but art and agilittie, euen so Antigonus who had the power and welth of a great and rich Kingdome to sustayne the expences of the warre, at length weried and ouerlayd Cleomenes that had no such meanes to beare the charges therof, thus sayth Plutark in substance, of these two Kinges; and so may wee say of her maiesty and the King Catholyke, that by all lyklyhood the multitude of his Kingdomes, the welth & infinit number of his subiects, the aboundance of his treasures that flow from his Indies, and the strength of his armies and garrisons continually kept in pay, cannot but weare out in tyme, the power and wealth of England, though it were much greater and richer then it is, especially yf eyther any breach should fal out betwyxt the french and vs, or any ciuil warres amongst them, or a new storme aryse from any other part, in which cases how England would be able to weald with so potent an enemy as is his maiesty, I leaue to your lordships wise consideration.

But perhaps these men presume vpon her Ma^{ties} league and amity with forrayn Princes and States, let them therefore consider what assurance is therein, seing experience teacheth that the amity of Princes neuer lasteth longer then fortune fauoreth or consideration of profit concurreth, besydes that infinit occasions of Ielousies, and vnexpected quarrels fall out dayly amōgst Princes which break the surest leagues, and make the best friends the greatest enemies.

What resteth then to make these brewbates so confident? is it her Ma^{ties} good successe? but of all other reasons that ought least to moue them, for he is not wyse

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(sayd Iason to Epaminondas) that feares not the euent of warre, which are so variable as neyther force nor pollicy, nor skil of art military nor any humain meanes can assure; whereof wee neede not to seek examples abroad, seeing wee haue enough at home, yf wee but consider the varietie and counterchange of good & bad successe in the warres betwyxt King Henry the sixt and King Edward the fourth and the great victories, and dominions which our Kinges her Ma^{ties} predecessors had in France some yeares togeather, and that at last they lost against all that they had got there; such is the inconstancy of humain affayres, stable in nothing but in instability, and therefore after a glowing Sunne of prosperity all wyse men feare a sharp shower of aduersity knowing that *extrema gaudij luctus occupat*, which a poet of our tyme wel expressed in this distich.

Proverb. cap.
14.

Mirror of
Magist.

*When hope and hap, when health and welth are higheſt,
Then woe and wrack, diſeaſe and need are nigheſt.*

In which respect, that is no smalle point of wisdom in any prosperous and victorious Prince euer to feare the after clap, and to bee such an enemy as he may after be a friend and so to make warre as he exclude not himself from possibility of peace yf his former fortune fayle him, yea and during the course of his prosperity to harken to any reasonable composition, rather then to stand to the hazards of future euent, which many great Princes and famous Captaynes not obseruing, haue obscured all their former glory with final disgrace, and made themselues lamentable examples of humain infelicity.

Plutark in
the lyfe of
Paulus Aemi-
lius.

Perseus King of Macedony puffed vp with pride for diuers victories that he had got against the Romans, provoked them so long with continual iniuries that at length Paulus Aemilius conquered his country, & caried him and all his children prisoners to Rome in triumphe.

And

And Charles the last Duke of Burgundy, being growne so haughty and insolent with his great power, prosperitie, excellent wit and courage, that he would not harken to the most reasonable offers, and humble suites of the Swissers (with whome he was at variance) lost two battayles vnto them at Granson and Morat, and his credit, and friends with all, where vpon ensued his other disgraces, and finally the ruin of him and his state. Philip. comin.

This (my good Lords) I say to shew the inconsideration of our aduersaries who promising themselues (as it seemeth) a perpetuity of her Ma^{ties} lyfe and prosperity, think it good pollicy to kindle the coales of these present warres, betwyxt her and the King-Catholyke, with abuse and iniury of them both (as before hath ben declared) seeking to make an immortal hatred betwyxt them, and a quarrel irreconcilable, and yet are withall so vnadvised at home, as to procure (as much as in them lyeth) to alienat from her Ma^{ties} the harts of her owne subiects, by most exorbitant cruelties, and open iniuries, drawing her and the whole estate thereby into euident daungers both domestical and forrayn, which daungers if they should concurre to the effects that may be feared, though their owne ruines also would be included therein, yet were that but a small satisfaction, or recompence, for the losse of so many other better then them selues.

K 2

OF

AN APOLOGIE IN DEFENCE
OF TWO OTHER INEVITABLE
*dammmages that must needs ensue to her
Ma^{tie}. & her whole state by the effusion of inno-
cent blood with an intimation of some
part of the remedy.*

CHAP. XIX.

BVr albeit there were no occasion of feare, eyther at home or abroad as God be thanked at home there is litle (though no God a mercy to these busy fellowes) yet what greater indignity or iniury can be offered to her maiesty by her subiects then to abuse her royal name and authoritie, to the murdering of so many innocents as by these deuises are put to death in England, where-vpon do follow two ineuitable dammmages to her maiesty, and her realme, the one the infamy that her maiesties gouernmēt doth incurre in all the Christian world, as is manifest to all those that trauel ouer other countries, or read the bookes and histories that dayly are written thereof by strangers in all languages, which no trackt of tyme shal be able to abolish.

The other is the vengeance of almighty God due by his iustice to all such notable wrongs donne by publyk authority of her Ma^{tie} and her lawes, the which what yt may bring vpon her and the realme in tyme, any man that beleueth there is a God, and iust Iudge of humain actions, cannot but feare, seing not only the holy Scriptures, but also prophane histories do yeeld innumerable examples of Gods wrath extended vpon realmes and states for iniustices committed therein; *Kingdomes are transferred, sayeth the scripture, from nation to nation, for iniustices, iniuries, contumelies, and diuers deceits; and amongst all iniustices there is none that more offendeth God, the effusion of*
inno-

innocent blood, and therefore the Prophet exclaimeth in *Ezech. 24.*
 the person of God, *Wo be to the bloody citie whereof I wil*
make a great heap, as of a pile of wood to burn; and the same
 Prophet threatening the destruction of Hierusalem, and *Ezech. 22.*
 declaring the causes thereof reckoneth for one of the *Ibid.*
 principal, *the shedding of innocent blood, her Princes* (sayth he)
were lyke wolues rauening for their pray, to shed blood, & agayne *Ibid.*
they were calumniarous and slanderers in her, to shed blood. lyke
 wyse, afterwards in the same place our lord speaketh to
 Hierusalem, saying, *they haue receiued gifts and rewards in thee*
to spil blood, behold my wrath is kindled against thee for thy coue-
tousnes, and the blood that hath beene shed in thee, and therefore
I wil dispers thee into diuers nations, and scatter thee into diuers
countries, &c.

Also when the King and people of Iuda, and Hieru- *4 Reg. ca. 24.*
 salem were led into captiuite by Nabucodonozor the
 scripture sayth expressely that it was donne for *the blood*
which Manasses had shed, when he filled Hierusalem with the blood
of innocents, and therefore God would not bee appeased.

In lyke manner our Sauour himself prophesying of the
 destruction of Hierusalem by the Romans ascribed the *Matth. 23.*
 same principally to the spilling of innocent blood, not
 only of his owne but also of the prophets, that he had sent
 and was to send, Hierusalem (sayth he) *which kils the*
Prophets, and stonest them which are sent to thee, behold your houses
shal bee left desert, &c.

Hereof many notable examples occurre in prophane *Iust. lib. 28.*
 histories, but 2. or 3. shal suffice for breuities sake.

Iustin telleth of the people of Epiras seuerely punished
 and almost destroyed, with dearth, famin, warre, and
 sicknes by Gods iust Iudgement for the cruel slaughter of
 Laodomia daughter of Alexander their King.

No lesse notable and manifest was Gods iust iudge-
 ment vpon the Lacedemonians for a horrible murder and
 rape comitted by two of their cittizens vpon the two *Plutarch in his*
 daughters of Scedalus, who demanding Iustice most in- *treatise inti-*
 tant *tuled narra-*
tiones ama-
toriz.

AN APOLOGIE IN DEFENCE

stantly of the King councel, and people, and being denied it of them all, craued it at Gods hands with infinit imprecations, and maledictions against their state, and so killed himself also vpon his daughters tombe, where vpon enfewed (as Diodorus, Siculus, & Plutark doo note) the memorable ouerthrow geuen to the Lacedemonians by Epimanondas, hard by the tombe of the two maydens in the playne of Leuctra where the offence was comitted in which deffait they lost not only their hole armie, but also the empire of Greece, which they had before in their hands many yeares.

Diod. sicul.
lib. 15. ca. 14.

Proverb.
cap. 28.

Such is the style of Gods Iustice, to punish iniustice, not only in them that commit it, but also in those that permit and suffer it, yea and in respect of the sympathy and communication which is in the body politike no lesse then in the body natural (where in the detrimēt of the least mēber redoundeth to the hurt of the whole) he imputeth sometyes the fault of one to all, & sometyes for the peoples offences he punisheth the Prince (in which respect Salomon sayth the sinnes of the people make many Princes) and sometyes for the Princes faults he punisheth the people, and otherwhyless for the sinnes of eyther he destroyeth both.

Isaie cap 7.

2. Reg. ca. 24.
Ibid.

When Acham had stolne part of the spoyle of Hierico contrary to the commaundement of God, 3000. of the children of Israel were ouerthrowne by them of Hay, for his offence, which our lord imputed to them all, saying, *Israel hath sinned and transgressed my commaundement, &c.*

2. Paralip.
cap. 2. 8.

4. Reg. ca. 24.
1. Reg. ca. 12.

For the sinne of Dauid in numbring the people, 70000. of his subiects perished, and for the peoples offences God permitted him to sinne.

For King Achaz cause, sayth the scripture, God did humble the people of Iuda & after gaue them into captiuity for the sinnes of their King Manasses.

Lastly when Samuel had anoynted Saule for King he sayd

said vnto the people yf yow perseuer in your wickednes, both yow and your King shal perish.

Herein neuertheles this difference may be noted, that when almighty God doth punish both he vseth more rigour towards the Princes and heads of the people, then towards the meaner sort.

Whereof the holy ghost declareth the reason in the sap 6. book of wisdom where he speaketh to Kings, & Princes, in this manner; *Audite reges, &c. hearken O Kinges, and vnderstand, learne yow which are Iudges of the bounds of the earth in respect that power is geuen vnto yow from our lord, and strength from the highest, who wil examine your woorkes, and search your thoughts, and because when yow were ministers of his kingdome, yow did not Iudge rightly nor keep the law of iustice, nor walk in the way of God, he wil appeare vnto yow quickly, and horribly, for most rigorous Iudgment is donue vpon them that governe: With the poore and meane man mercy is vsed, but mighty men shal suffer torments mightily.*

This my lords I am bold to represent vnto your lordships that yow may see thereby the euident daunger that your whole estate may be brought into by the extreame wrongs that our persecutours do vs howsoever her Ma^{tie}. and your Lordships may bee free from the same in wil or consent, as I make no dout but yow are.

For if the Prince and people are so conioyned & linked together with the communication of merit or demerit, that God doth commonly chastise, the one for the others fault, and for the offenses of eyther sometymes destroyeth both (as I haue before declared,) if the priuat theft of Acham could cause the puklik calamity of the children of Israel, that had no way consented thereto, what may be feared to ensue of so horrible and publik a crime, of our persecutours, as the effusion of innocent blood, thirsted sought, and spilt, so oft, and by so many subtilities and deuises, by slaunders and fayned treasons, by extreame torments vniustly geuen, by periuries, by corruption of witnessnes,

A consequence
to be considered.

Iosue. 7.

AN APOLOGIE IN DEFENCE

nesses, Iuries, and Iudges (where by an infinit number of all sorts are drawne to the participation of the offence) and all this vnder pretence of publyk autoritie of her maiesty, or her councel and her lawes, what may be feared (I say) but that the sinne is not priuat, and particuler, but publik and general; and that the whole state remaineth engaged for the payment of the penalty.

It resteth then my lords that of your wisdomes and piety yow procure some redresse of these inconueniences for auersion of Gods wrath from yow & vs & the whole realme, and for preuention of the mischeefe that otherwyse must needs ensue. And if it please your lordships to geue me leaue to put yow in mynd of one necessary meane thereof, and as I haue layd open the sore, so to represent also some part of the salue, yt importeth much that for the expiation of so great a sinne, and satisfaction of Gods Iustice yow lay the penalty vpon the authors and instruments of the iniustice as appeareth by the example of Achans theft, whereof our lord sayd to Iosue, *I wil be no longer with yow vntil yow haue destroyed him that is guilty of this crime*, and when Phinees killed the Israelit which committed fornication with the Madianit, he auerted the wrath of God from the children of Israel, as the scripture testifieth. Also when the people were punished with 3. yeares famin in Dauids tyme for the offence of Saule in killing the Gabaonits, the famin lessed when seuen of Sauls offspring were deliuered to the Gabaonits, and by them crucified, the lyke reporteth Plutark of a most furious plague where with God punished the citties of Rome and Laurentum for the murder of King Tatius in Rome, and of certayne Embassadours of Laurentum, which plague suddenly ceased in both the citties when iustice was donne vpon the murderers in both places.

I haue not sayd this with any desire of reuenge, or vncharitable affection towards our aduersaries, but in respect of my duty to her Ma^{tie} and your lordships, and for the

Iosue cap. 7.

Num. cap. 25.

2. Reg. ca. 21.

Plutar. in
Romulo.

the tender loue that I doe beare to my country, and vni-
 uersal good of all. For as for them (I meane our enemies)
 I assure your Lordships I am so far from desyring any
 reuenge of them that I pittie their case, knowing that
 except they repent, and do worthy pennance God wil
 surely reuenge his owne cause and ours, vpon them, and
 throw into the fyre, those rods of his wrath, when he hath
 worne them to the stumps; for such is the cours of his
 iustice, to chastise first his seruants and children by the mi-
 nistry of wicked men (not moouing, but vsing their euil
 wils, and malice for the execution of his holy wil) and
 afterwards to punish them most seuerely for the same; &
 therefore though he ordayned the destruction of the
 Temple of Hierusalem, and the captiuity of his people
 for their sinnes, yet afterwards he vtterly destroyed the
 Babilonians for hauing ben the meanes, and instruments
 thereof, to which purpose, the Prophet sayth, our Lord
 stirred vp the Kings of the Medes to destroy Babilon, *for it*
is the reuenge of our Lord and the reuenge of his Temple, & agayne,
I wil render to Babilon (saith almighty God by the same Pro-
 phet) *and to all the inhabitants of Caldea, all the euil that they haue*
donne in Sion. And after in the same chapter, he comforteth
 his people in captiuity, saying, *behold I wil make Babilon a*
desert, &c and no maruel; seing he also destroyed the
 Amonits, Moabits, and other their neighbours, for hauing
 laughed, and skorned at their desolation and captiuity;
 such is the loue which our Lord beareth to his seruants, as
 he reuengeth the least iniury that is donne the, of whome
 he hath such particular care, as he numbeth the very heares
 of their heads, as our Sauour sayth, & taketh all that is
 donne to them, be it good or euil as donne to himself.

4. Reg. 22. 24.

Hier. cap. 32.

Ibidem.

Ezech. 25.

Math. 10.

Luc. 10.

Math. 23.

And now hauing layd before your lordships by way of
 some degresion, these considerations (yet as annexed not-
 withstanding & conioyned with Squires cause by cohe-
 rence of the manner of proceeding (I shal returne to treat
 some few lines more of a pamphlet set foorth for Squires
 condemnation after his execution.

L

O F

AN APOLOGIE IN DEFENCE
OF A CERTAYNE PAM-
phlet printed in England concerning the conspi-
racie of Squire after his death, and first of two notable
lies which the Author therof auoweth upon his owne
knowledge.

CHAP. XX.

HA V I N G determined to speake no more of
Squyres affayre but rather to haue ended with
this that hath beene said, I receyued from a frend
of myne a pamphlet printed in England by the
deputies of Christopher Barker the Queenes printer con-
cerning the matter and offence of Squire, intituled, A letter
written out of England to an English gentleman remay-
ning at Padua, conteyning a true report of a strange con-
spiracy &c. the which pamphlet doth geue me occasion
to enlarge my self somewhat further then I meant.

For although I hold thesame to be sufficiently an-
swered as wel by that which I haue already discoursed in
this Apology, as also by the foresaid treatise lately pu-
blished by our frend M. A. in confutation of the whole
fiction, besydes that the pamphlet it self hauing neyther
name of author nor priuiledge, nor licence for the printing
may seeme rather to be reiected as an infamous libel, then
held worthy of further answere; neuertheles considering
that the Author therof taketh vpon him such particuler
knowledge of all the proceedings in that matter, that he
seemeth to be no ordinary person, but rather some one that
had his hand in the pye, and agayne forasmuch as it may
be thought that the Queenes printers, neyther would nor
durst set foorth any such pamphlet touching her Ma^{tie} &
the state, withoue the warrant of some man in authoritie,
and lastly for that the Author therof amongst many fooles
bolts that be hath shot therein, seemeth to haue leuelled
one par-

one particularly at me, though he name me not, I haue thought good briefly to touch some points therof.

To come then to the matter, his discourse consisteth of 3. partes: the first, his declaration of Squyres confession, touching the particulers, as wel of the supposed conspiracy, as also of the execution therof: the secōd the māner of the discouery of it, the third this pamphletters cōment and censure vpon the same, interposed, sometymes by the way of discourse. Parts of the Pamphlet.

In the first I only wish to be noted two notorious and impudent lyes, within the compasse of ten lynes auowed by him vpon his owne knowledge. The one that Squyres confession concerning the conspiracy was deliuered by himself, without torture, or shew of torture; the other that it was in no point retracted or disauowed, eyther at his tryal, or at his death, whereas all those that were present thereat, are witnesses of the contrary, and amongst many others some of your Lordships that assisted at his tryal may wel remember I am sure that he vrged a long tyme that his confession was extorted by torment, and although he confessed the fact after vpon some persuations and expectation perhaps of pardon, yet at his death when it imported him for his euerlasting good to discharge his conscience, he reuoked his said confession, not only disauowing the fact, and all intention therof, but also his supposed employment by Father Walpoole, and when the shyriſ vrged him with his confession made at feuerall tymes, he answered in the hearing of all the assistants and lookers on, that he would as wel haue said any thing els in the world at that tyme to deliuer himself from the torments which he endured, and being pressed to confesse at least his subornation, and employment by the Iesuit (for Father Walpoole was not otherwyse named there) he flatlie denied it, and gaue a sufficient reason to cleare both himself and the father, saying that he ranne away from Seuil without the fathers knowledge, and that therefore it

might easily be iudged that he was not suborned nor sent by him.

And this I affirme as wel vpon diuers relations that I haue seene thereof in wryt ng, as also vpon the report of a credible person who was present at his execution, with whom I haue spoken here in Madrid, so that I dare herin boldly appeale to the consciences not only of M. shiriffe who was kindled with great choller against the poore man for denying it, but also of all the assistants and beholders, who were much amazed to heare matter so farre from their expectation, their vttered by him that dyed.

What then may I say of the impudency of this man that maketh no bones to put in print, yea and to affirme vpon his knowledge such a notable ly, disprouable by the testimony of so many hundreths as were present at Squires death? wherto serueth all his exaggeratiōs of the foulness of the fact, his opprobrious speeches against Father Walpoole his deuises of charmes, coniurations, enchantments, exorcismes, cyrcles, & all his Sinons tale so smotherly framed, but to bewray both his vanitie and malice, seing he taketh delight and glorie in the vayne ostentation of his owne lying tongue to the slauder both of the quick and the dead, and therefore let him consider what the psalmist sayth to him, & such other calumniatours, Why dost thou glory in malice thou which art potent in iniquitie &c. thou hast loued all woords of ruyne and destruction, thou which art a very tongue of tromperie, and deceit, & therefore God wil destroy the finally, and pluck the vp and remoue the from thy tabernacle, and thy root from the land of the liuing.

OF CER-

T.F. AND OTHER CATHOLIKES. 39
OF CERTAYNE ABSVRD

*improbabilities in the same pamphlet touching the
manner of the discovery of Squires sup-
posed conspiracy.*

CHAP. XXI.

Afterwards when he cometh to acquaint his
Paduan friend with the manner how the matter
was discovered he sayth thus, when tyme passed
sayd he, and nothing came of it, they (he meaneth
vs heere) made construction of it, that Squire had byn
false to them, one of the more passionate of them in-
ueigheth bitterly against Squire tels how he was trusted,
and how he had vndonne the cause, and the better to be
reuenged on him, is content that one (that they let slip
hyther, as if he had fled from them) should geue infor-
mation of this matter not with the circumstances, but ge-
nerally against Squire, partly to winne himself credit,
and partly to wreak themselues on Squire.

Thus farre this pamphleters wordes which being con-
ferred with that which as before I haue signified, was
uerged against Squire at his arraignment concerning the
same matter, wil be the better vnderstood.

It was then declared (I meane at the barre) vnder the
confession of Ihon Stallage, alias Stanley lately before fled
fro hence, that I did one day in my owne lodging inueigh
against Squire with great passion and oath, saying that he
had deceyued vs, and that we should be discredited with
the King therby, and further that perswading our selues
that Squire had already reuealed the matter, we sent in
Stanley to do some other great mischeef, with pretence
to accuse Squire therof, wherby it appeareth that the pas-
sionate man, who the pamphleter sayth reuealed it was
my self, & that Stallage was not only he to whom I told
it, but

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it, but also the man that we let slip to accuse Squire to be reuenged of him, which how improbable and absurd it is, I remit to the iudgement of any indifferent man that knoweth him and vs, or hath but any sparck of prudence to discouer a cogging ly.

Great absurdities and improbabilities.

For first how is it credible that we had so litle wit, and discours as (yf we had recommended any such matter to Squire) to assure our selues that he had beene fals vnto vs & reuealed it only because he had not executed it with in lesse then a yeaere? wherof there might be so many lawful impediments ymagined, as howsoeuer we might suspect him, yet could we haue no reason so fully to condemne him, that we should send one our selues to discouer it, whervpon must needs follow great inconuenience to vs, whether he had detected yt himself or no; for yf he had not, we should not only do wrong to him, but also to our selues, yea and to all the Catholykes of England in ministering matter of a new and general persecution; for if our aduersaries are fayne to inuent such lyke matters many tymes to take occasion ther-vpon to persecute vs could we be ignorant that they would do it much more yf they had such a iust occasion ministred by our selues, wherby all Catholykes and we especially should be decried euery where for manquellars, & princekillers, traytours, and homicides, in all tribunals pulpits assemblies, books and sermons, and many an innocent man suffer for our cause, vpon this general condemnation.

Is it likely then, that we would take such a desperate resolution, only vpon a bare suspition? And put the case that he had reuealed it, and that we had assured our selues therof, could we haue any reason in the world to geue further light of the matter our selues, and so to fortifie his accusation of vs, which of it self could not haue the credit, nor consequently be so preiudicial to our common cause as when it should be seconded with a testimony of our owne?

But

But they say we are passionate men, and especially I, and therefore were transported with desyre of reuenge, for so saith the pamphleter that to Wreak our selues on Squyre we sent in Stallage to accuse him, because we were persuaded that he was fals to vs; let vs then examine this a litle, and see what coherence there is therein.

I would gladly know as wel of the Author of the pamphlet, as of M. Attorney and others that vrged this point against Squyre, and vs at the barre, what reuenge we could expect to haue of Squyre by reuealing that which we thought he himself had reuealed? were we so simple to think that we could hurt him therby? truly, though these fyne heades wil not allow vs so much wit as themselves, yet they do vs wrong to take from vs ordinary discourse and common sense, seing these are things so euident, that it rather may be wondred how their deep conceits could take them for probable, then imagined that we should commit so grosse errors, so that this deuise is sufficiently disproued by the absurdities therof.

But how simple soeuer these men take vs to be. it appeareth that the pamphleter was not wel in his wits, when he acknowledged that Stanley was suborned by vs to accuse Squyre, and that two letters which he pretended to haue stolne out of one of our studies, weere found to be counterfeit, yea and that therupon it was collected that Squyre was an honest man (which in deed was the most direct construction that could be made thereon) wherby the pamphleter notably discouereth the extreame iniustice donne to Squyre; for yf the subornation of Stanley was so manifest, that it serued for an argument of Squyres honestie, it is cleare that the torment geuen to him vpon Stanleys accusation was against all law and conscience, wherupon it also followeth that the torment being vniustly geuen, the confession extorted therby was vterly voyd in law, and by consequence the condemnation grounded vpon the confession most vniust, and iniurious,

A notable
folly of the
pamphleter

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rious, as I haue sufficiently proued in the 8. chapter.

Furthermore whereas the Pamphleter confesseth that Stanley had two counterfeited letters concerning this matter, which he pretended to haue stole out of one of our studies, he geueth me no small occasiō to think that the letter which the priue councillor vrged against Squire at his arraignment, as written betwixt my kinsman and me, was one of them whervpon for my part I wil make no further collection then that the pamphleter sheweth himselfe to be a very simple man in publishing such things, as directly redound to the ouerthrow of the cause which he vndertaketh to defend.

Wel to conclude this point for as much as it doth not appeare vpon what ground the pamphleter and his fellowes affirme that Stanley was sent into England, & suborned by vs, whether vpon their owne imagination, or els vpon his confession; I say that their charitie towards vs, and their proceedings heretofore in lyke causes being considered together with Stanleys good conscience and conditions (wherof I haue spoken amply before) it as little importeth what they say or imagine of vs, as what he hath confessed or shal confesse except it be at the gallowes, which is now (as matters are handled in England) the only tribunal of truth, I meane the only place where truth is tryed, as may appeare by the late exāple of Squire, so that when I shal vnderstand that Stanley is hanged also, and that at his death he hath ratified this, I shal then say that there is some more probability therein, though since the wryting of this it is signified (as hath beene said) that he denieth all agayne now in the towre.

And truly if our aduersaryes did not perswade theselues that he would at his death cōfesse the truth as Squire did, & so marre all I doubt not but they would haue hanged him ere this, being the man he is and so wel deseruing it, but now as the matter standeth, I think for auoyding the foresaid trial of Tyburne, he may rather feare a fig then a balter.

Tyburne
with truth.

halter feing those that haue him in their clouches, cannot but conceyue that the truth of this matter may in tyme come to be discouered to their shame, no lesse by his lyfe then by his publyk death, so that I think he may make his wil, if he haue any thing to dispose, though the hāgman is neuer lyke to haue his coat. Thus much to the text of the pāphlet, now to the glosse, & for that hereafter I must be a litle more playne with the Author therof, then the respect and dutie, I owe to your Lordships would permit, If I should cōtinue my speach to yow, I wil by your Lordships leaues addresse the same hence-forth to him and his fellowes.

OF CERTAINE IMPERTI-

nent and foolish glosses of the Author of the pamphlet, and first concerning the moderation and lenitie which he sayth is vsed in causes of Religion where it is not mixt with matter of state.

CHAP. XXII.

IN the third page yow appeale Sir Pamphleter to the knowledge of your frend in Padua for the distinction & moderation of the proceeding in England in ecclesiastical causes with what lenitie and gentlenes it hath beene caryed, except where it was mixed with matter of state, for such are your owne wordes.

Hereto I answere that by your restriction & exception of state matters yow ouerthrow your general proposition of clemency, and proue that ther is no moderation lenitie nor gentlenes vsed at all, for where is not matter of state mixed with religion now a dayes in England, are not so many essential poynts of Catholyke religion made treason as no man can do the duetie of a Catholyke, but he is *ipso*

M

facto

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facto atraytour, seing no man can be so much as absolued of his sinnes, nor receyue any Sacrament of Gods Church by the only true ministers thereof (I meane Priestes) but he committeth treason? besydes the other captious lawes about the Supremacie, the exacting of the oth, and the vrging of Catholykes to come to haretical seruice, & communion, vnder colour of temporal obediēce to the Prince, is not in all this, state mixt with religion, yea and to no other end then to persecute vs vnder colour of treason and matter of state, while ye persecute religion, and for religion.

Was not this the very practise of Iulian the Apostata who to couer his persecution of Christians sometymes caused his picture to be set with Iupiter or other fals Gods and sometymes made himselfe to be paynted with their enseignes and resemblance, therby to make such mixture of religion, and matter of state, that those which should refuse to commit Idololatry might be punished vnder colour of contempt of his emperial person.

Sozom lib. 5.
cap. 16. Ni-
cepho lib. 10.
cap. 23.

Sozom.
Ibidem.

Hereof sayth Sozomenus, *Nam sic cogitabat, &c.* for so Iulian thought that if he perswaded the to that, he should more easely bring them to his wil in other points of religion also, and if they resisted in this he might punish them without mercie, as offenders against both the common wealth and the Empyre.

Is not this now practised in England in effect? for what other thing is it to annex the keyes of Peter with the Princes crowne, the deuine power with the humain, the supremacy spiritual with the gouernment temporal (dignities no lesse distinct in nature, then incompatible in lay persons, and especially in women sexe) what other thing is it, I say, then to ioyne Iulian with Iupiter, and to paynt the Prince with the enseignes and resemblance of deitie, and to what other end then vnder colour of treason & matter of state to make away all those that shal refuse to acknowledge this pretended ecclesiastical supremacy.

Such

Such then is your mixture of religion with matter of state, as whiles yow pretend to punish none for Catholyke religion, yow persecute cruelly all Catholykes for no other true cause then religion, yea and as the pharises did, yow persecute and crucifie Christ agayne in his members, as an ^{Ioan. 19.} enemy to Cæsar, and for the same reason of state that they ^{Ioan. 11.} did cry to Pilate *si dimittis hunc non es amicus Cæsaris*, if yow let him scape yow are not Cæsars frend for that his fault is not religion but matter of state against Cæsar and agayne *si dimittimus hunc venient Romani*, &c. yf we dis- misse this man the Romans (together with Spaniards) wil come and take from vs both our place and people, and wil conquer, spoyle & destroy vs, for which respect yow haue already killed some hundreths of Catholykes vpon lyke suspitions and ealumniations by vertue of your new statutes, besydes many mured for fayned conspiracies, and fals imputed crymes, and an exceeding multitude of others consumed and wasted with imprisonment, others pyned away in banishment, others empouerished & ruined with taxes, impositions, and penalties, and an infinite number daily languishing in captiuitie, penurie, and miserie, for that they wil not yeeld as yow cal it temporal obedience in comming to your seruice, and communion, & yet forsooth yow trouble none for religion.

But yf it please yow and your frend in Padua that knoweth as yow say this matter so wel to consider it a litle better, yow wil easely see that the distinction that yow and your fellowes make is confusion, your moderation persecution, your lenity seueritie, your shew and talk of mercy nothing els but a mere mockerie and playne cosinage of the simple reader, for to preache one thing and practise an other, is I trow the highest point of cosinage that may be.

But what maruaile is it if yow draw our religion to matter of state seing your owne religion hath no other rule, nor ground but reason of state, for albeit the substance

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of religion, which now yow professe different from ours, be patcht vp of old and new heresies, especially of these last of Luther, Zwinglius and Caluin, yet that which is properly yours, and the key and stay of all the rest and maketh yow a bodie and part different from other Sectes of Lutheranes, Zwinglians, and Caluenists, Puritanes, Brownists, Anabaptists and the lyke, is the obedience that yow acknowledge in ecclesiastical causes to a lay head, which although it was first introduced into England by King Henry the 8. only vpon animositie against the sea Apostolyke (because the said sea would not allow his deuorce from Queene Catherine (which King in all other poynts detested your religion) yet being abolished by Queene Marie her Ma^{ties} syster, and last prædecessour, it was returned agayne in the beginning of her Ma^{ties} raigne that now is, only vpon reason of state as all the world knoweth, and so hath hyhertobyn continued.

For those polityke statistes of ours that had the vse of her Ma^{ties} eares in the beginning, considering that the Queene of Scotland being then married vnto the French King, pretended title vnto the crowne of England, and fearing that the sea Apostolyk would fauour her pretence in respect of the mariage of her Ma^{ties} mother; yea and that the people would also incline that way, if they remayned stil in the obedience of the said sea, they had recourse to Hieroboams pollicy and abusing the facilitie of her Ma^{ties} good nature and yong yeares perswaded her to change the religion then publikly professed, and not only to banish the authority of the Pope, but also to follow her father, and brothers example in taking the title of ecclesiastical supremacy vpo her self, a thing absurd, ridiculous, vnnatural, impossible, & therefore worthely reiected, impugned, and derided by Luther and Caluyn themselves and by their folowers, and the Puritaines at this day in England, and all other sectaries abroad, as a matter without all præsident or example in any Christian common wealth
or colour

3. Reg. ca. 12.

Luther Cal-
uin Kénitius.

or colour of Scripture, except of some few texts that treat of obedience to Princes in general no lesse to Heathen Kings, then Christian, and therefore can not with any shew of reason be vnderstood of their primacy in causes ecclesiastical.

Seing then your religion so far as it is distinct from others, hath no other ground then reason of state, I doubt not, but yf the matter were wel examined what God they beleueed in, that perswaded her Ma^{tie} therto, or yow and your fellowes that manitayne it vpon the same reason, and by such vnchristian practises, as yow do, yow would be found to be cōprehēded in the third diuisiō of varro, who said that 3. kynds of men had three different kynds of Gods, the Poēts one, the Philosophers an other, and statists or Polityks a third & that euery one of them had a different religion according to the difference of their Gods, as that the religion of the Poets was fabulous, the other of the Philosophers natural, the third of the Statists, polityke, and accomodated to gouernment.

Aug. 6. de ciuitat. Dei c. 3.

And this is that which yow professe; For the God yow beleue in is the Prince, your scriptures are the actes of Parliament, your religion is to conserue the state *per fas & nefas*, and therefore as all good Christians do measure the reason of state by religion, which is the true rule, and the end therof, and from the which it cannot in reason dissent or disagre, so yow on the other syde reduce and frame religion to your fals reason of state, and by that meanes peruert all the order both of nature and grace preferring the body before the soule, temporal things before spiritual humayn before deuine; earth before heauen the world before God, and which is more yow subiect both earth, heauen, body soule, the world, yea God and all, to the priuate pleasure, and profit of the Prince, as though he were the end, the Lord, and God of all the world, and of nature it self, whervpon ensue those monstrous pollicies which wee see fraught with all frand, hipocrisy, periuries, flāūders, murders,

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murders, and all kynd of cruelty, oppression and impiety, which haue ruined infinite Kinges with their countries, & Kingdomes, and what they wil bring our poore country vnto in the end, tyme wil tel, wherto I remit me, for as the Italian prouerbo sayth, *La vita il fine, il di loda la sera*, the end prayseth the lyfe, and the euening the day.

OF THE TRVE CAUSES OF *more moderation vsed in the beginning then afterwards, & of the difference made by the Lawes, betwixt Seminarie, and Q. Mary priests.*

CHAP. XXIII.

BVt to proceed in your obseruations, you go forward to geue example that there is moderation vsed in ecclesiastical causes, where matter of state is not mixt with religion, saying, for els I would gladly learne what should make the difference betweene the temper of the lawes in the first yeare of the Queene, and in the 23. and 27. but that at the one tyme they were papists in conscience, and at the other, they were growne papists in faction, or what should make the difference at this day in law betwixt a Queene Marie priest, & a Seminary priest, saue that the one is a priest of suspicion, and the other a priest of sedition.

Hereto I answere that because you say you would gladly learne, and that I take yow to be of a good wit and docile, I wil take paynes to teach you this poynt that you say you would so fayne learne. Know you therfore that there were diuers causes of more moderation and lenity vsed for some yeares in the beginning then afterwards, & yet not those which you speak of and so you shew your self

self eyther ignorant, or malicious in both.

The first an ordinary rule of state which those great statists that procured this change could not neglect I meane in case of innouation to vse no suddayne violence, but to proceed by degrees, especially in matter of religion, which is seildome changed without tumult and trouble, wherof they had seene the experience in the tymes of both the kings Henry and Edward, & therfore they had great reason to water their wyne at the beginning, and to vse moderation at least for some yeares vntil the state and gouernment were settled.

The second cause was the doctrine of your owne gospellers in Q. Maryes tyme, who because some of their followers were burnt for heresy (according to the Canons and lawes of the Church) cryed out that they were persecuted, and published in their bookes and sermons, that faith ought to be free, and not forced, & that therfore it was againt all conscience to punish or trouble men for their religion, in which respect the authors of the change, that serued themselves of them in the ecclesiastical and pastoral dignities, could not for shame at the very first, vse the bloody proceeding which afterwards they did, though neuerthelesse they forbore not in the very beginning to imprison, and otherwise to afflict, all Bishops and cheif pastours; and such others as would not subscribe, & come to their Churches, for the which cause I remember that besydes a great number of ecclesiastical and temporal persons, some of my owne kindred and familie were called to London, and imprisoned in the second yeare of her Maiesties raigne, and so remayned prisoners many yeares after.

The third cause was the vayne hope that those polityks had that a religion so sensual, and ful of liberty as theirs, authorized with the power of the Prince, vpholden with lawes, promulgate with all artifice of writers preachers, and perswaders, would easely within a few yeares insinuate

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nuate it self into the hartes of all men, especially of the youth, wherby they made accompte, that the elder sort being worne out, there would be within a feweaes litle memorie or none at all left of Catholike religion; but when they saw after some yeaes experience, how much they were deceiued of their expectation, and that through the zealous endeauours of the learned English Catholikes abroad, learned bookes written, Colledges & Seminaryes erected, priests made and sent in, & therby infinite numbers reduced to the vnity of the Catholike Church, not only of the schismatiks that fel at the first, eyther by ignorance, or for feare, but also of the Protestants themselves (and amongst them euen many ministers and principal preachers) and none sooner conuerted, or more zealously affected to Catholike religion, then the yongest and fynest wits, wherwith our new Seminaryes beganne to be peopled; when those statists I say, saw this, they thought it then tyme to bestyrre themselves, and to persecute in good earnest, and yet to do it in such sort, as they might, if it were possible, auoyd the name, & suspition of persecutors both at home and abroad, and therefore they vsed the same pollicy that Iulian the Apostata did, of whom S. Gregory Nazianzenus writeth, that he professed not externally his impiety with the courage that other persecutors his predecessours were wont to do, neyther did he oppose himself against our faith lyke an Emperour that would gayne honour in shewing his might and power by open oppression of the Catholyks, but made warre vpon them in a cowardly and base maner couering his persecution with craftie, and subtyle deuises, enuying them, the name and glorie of Martyrdome that the souldiours of Christ had got in former persecutions, and therefore he endeouored to vse violence in such sort as it should not appeare, or dayning that the Christians which suffred for Christ should be put to death as malefactours, this affirmeth. S. Gregory Naziāzen of Iulian the apostata wherein

Orat. 3. in Iulianum &
Orat. 10. in
laudem Cæsarij.

wherein yow may see a true pattron of your owne proceedings, for to exemplify thesame with answere to the question yow aske concerning the temper of the lawes made in the 23. yere of her Ma^{ty} raigne, what other cause had yow to make those lawes in that yeare, but that yow knew that Father Campian and diuers Seminary Priests were come into Englād lately before, & therfore to make the world beleue that their comming was to no other end but to sow sedition, and trouble the State, yow did not only make those lawes, but also shamfully murdered thesame yeare thesaid famous man, and 11. godly innocent Priests with him for fayned conspiracies proued against no one of them, & disauowed by them all at their deathes, which sufficient proof of their innocency, as before I haue declared at large in the 11. chapter, besydes many other since made away in lyke manner vpon lyke fals pretences, and especially in the yeare 88. after the Kinges Armada had past through the channel, in which yeare yow executed about 40. Priests, and Catholykes in diuers partes of England, to make the world beleue that they had intelligence with the Spaniards or had procured the comming of thesaid Armada, which could not bee proued, nor so much as iustly suspected of any one of them.

Moreouer I dare boldly affirme, neyther shal yow euer be able with truth to controle me, that wheras our Seminaries haue yeilded within these 30. yeares 5. or 6. hūdreth Priests that haue laboured in that vyneyard (wherof yow haue put to death more then a hundreth) yow could neuer iustly charge any one of them with sedition or matter of state except it were Ballard executed with Babington and of Ballard. the rest, whom as I wil not excuse, (because I know not how farre he waded in those matters) so wil I not condemne him, considering the proceedings of yow and your fellowes with Catholykes in lyke cases. yet this I wil be bold to say that if he had any dealing therin, it was without the consent or knowledg of any of his superiours, yea

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or of any intrinsecal friend of theirs, wherof I could yeild a sufficient reason, if it were conuenient.

But let vs admit that he was as deep in those matters as any of the rest; haue yow therfore any reason to condemne all other Seminary Priests for his act, I do not blame yow heer for punishing any Catholyke that yow should fynd to be truly seditious, but I fynd it strange, & against all reason and iustice, that yow do not only punish vs for fayned crymes, but also impute the doings of one or of a few to all, which was alwayes in my tyme, and I think it stil, the absurd dealing of your lawyers in the araignment of Catholykes vrging against them the attemptes of Doctor Sanders in Ireland, and Feltons setting vp of the Bul, and such like, as though euery Catholyke were priuie to their doings, or thought himself bound in conscience to do as they did, which kynd of argument your lawyers would neuer vse, if they were not eyther most malicious or ignorant, or thought all their audience to be fooles: For what conclusion can be drawne from one or some particuler to a general, as to say, Eaton the preacher did penance on the Pillery in cheapside and after at Paules Crosse for lying with his daughter, such a minister was hanged for a rape, such an other for sodomy, such a one for a murder; ergo, all ministers are murderers, sodomites, rauishers of women, and incestuous persons.

Would your ministers allow this conclusion, or els that lawes should be made against them all for the offence of some of them? and yet to say truly there haue beene so many examples of ministers conuict & executed for such crymes that yow might with more reason exterminate the whole ministry, as a very sink of sinne, then condemne all Catholykes as seditious, for Doctor Sanders, and Feltons cause, or all Seminary Priests for Ballards.

But to conclude this point, it is euident ynough, that neither Ballards offence (yf he committed any) nor theirs that

that were executed with him could be any occasion of those rigorous lawes against Seminary Priests which were made some yeares before, when (as I haue said) yow had not any one example of a Seminary man, that had beene, or could be touched with any sedition, other then such as yow fayned of them your selues.

Furthermore what iust cause had yow to make the distinction in your lawes betwixt Queene Marie Priests, & Seminary Priests? haue yow found any more in the one then in the other, but only that yow know the old Priests of Queene Martyrs tyme were so spent and wasted already that ther was not left of them perhaps half a score in England (who also yow thought would be in a short tyme consumed) wheras of the others, yow saw a continual spring, that would flow perpetually, to the vndouted destruction of your heresy in tyme, if it were not stopped, in which respect, yow thought good to seeme to fauour the first, that yow might with more shew of reason persecute the later.

Q. Marie Priests.

Neuerthelesse yow haue hanged some of those Q. Marie Priests as wel as the other, only for doing their function counting them therin no lesse seditious then the Seminary Priests, and yet yow say yow spare the one sort as only superstitious, and punish the other as seditious.

But such seditious and superstitious Priests as these are, were the very Apostles and Disciples of our Sauour, for ^{2. Cor. 2.} they absolued from sinne, as these do, they administred the ^{A. 2. 10.} Sacraments of Baptisme, of the ~~Alter~~ extreeme vnction, & ^{A. 2. 2. & 20.} the rest as these do, they said masse (that is to say) they offred ^{Iam. 5.} in sacrifice the blessed, bodie and blood of our Sauour as ^{A. 2. 14.} these do, they did preach, and teach the Christian Catho- ^{A. 2. 17.} lyke doctrine as these do, finally they were persecuted & ^{A. 2. 24.} punished for sedition as these are.

Thus Sir yow may see yow had not those causes which yow pretend, to change the temper of your lawes

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Iawes, nor to distinguish betwixt Seminarie and Queene Marie Priests, neyther any reason at all to cal them eyther superstitious, or seditious. But let vs see some more of your gloses.

THE CONFUTATION OF

an inuective which the Author of the Pamphlet maketh against the Iesuits.

CHAP. XXIIII.

IN your 10. and 11. page yow make a digression to, treat of the strange mysteries as yow cal them of the Iesuits doctrin, how they mingle heauen and hel, and lift vp the hands of the subiects against the anointed of God, yow wonder that Princes do not concurre in suppressing them, who yow say make traffyck of their sacred lyues; yow compare them to pirats that are publyke enemies to humayne society, and to the Templars that were all put downe throughout Christendome within a few weekes, and lastly yow fynd it strange that the Bishop of Rome doth not purge out a leuen as yow cal them, so strange and odious.

These in deed are very strange and odious speeches, and no maruayle for there can be no more sympathy betwixt the Iesuits and yow then betwixt good and bad, light and darknes, Christ and Belial; it is no maruaille, that the thief hateth the gallowes, the dog the whip or the woolf the mastif, that keepes the flock, neyther that yow and all other heretyks maligne those, whose schooles are your scourge, whose bookes your bane, whose vertue is your confusion, whose vigilance and industry is the gard of simple soules against the assaults
of your

of your heresy and impiety, wherein the great goodnes of God is to be noted who for euery disease prouideth a remedy, for euery poyson an antidote, for euery harme a help, so it pleased him of his diuine wisdom to prouide against a Symon Magus, a Saynt Peter; against an Arrius, an Athanasius; against a Nestorius, a Cyril; against a Vigilantius, a Hierome; against a Pelagius, an Augustinus; (who was borne in Africk thesame day, that the other was borne in England) against the heretyks called Albigenes, a Dominik and his holy order of the fryer preachers; and lastly in this our age, against a Martyn Luther and his cursed crue of vicious Apostates he rayfed an Ignatius de Loyola with his blessed company, of vertuous, and Apostolical priests, commonly called Iesuites, whom though the Deuil, and all his instruments (I meane you, and all other heretykes, apostarates, and atheists) haue no lesse impugned then the catholike Churche it selfe, which they defend, yet neuerthelesse theyr holy Societie is through the prouidence of God propagate and spred throughout the Christian world from one pole to the other; and therby the wrackes and ruynes of Christendome repayred, insidels conuerted, heretyks confounded, youth instructed, the weake edified, no lesse to the glory of God, then to the confusion of his enemyes & theirs.

But to come to the particulers of your slaunderous digression; yow wonder that Princes do not concurre to the suppression of this sect, as yow cal it, that maketh a traffick of their lyues; & I wonder, yow are not ashamed to buyld such a malicious slaunder vpon so false a ground, seing I haue euidently proued that this matter of Squire (whervpon yow runne all this descant) is a meere fiction; a lewd, and a lowdly, improbale in it self, proued by no witnes, or euidence, extorted from him by torment, retracted and disauowed at his death, though yow shamefully say the contrarie: besydes that it is now about 20. yeares since the Iesuits first entred England in which tyme

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Is rackt yow haue rackt, and rent diuers of them (Father Southwel 10. tymes, Father Walpoole 14. Father Campion I know not how oft) and diuers others for their caule, and all to fynd out some such matter, and yet yow neuer got so much as any inkling of any, so that this contumelious speech of yours, is but a vaine blast, that (as a man may say) flakes no corne, nor cracks any mannes credit but your owne.

Furthermore how childish and vayne is the comparison yow make of them to pyratts, therby to conclude them to be publyke enemies of humayn society, meaning (by lyke) by humayne society your selues, whose publyke enemies yow may in deed accompt them in respect of your heresies, yet in that sence there is neyther truth nor propriety in your manner of speech, for though I allow yow to be humayn and earthly in the highest degree, yet a true society yow cannot be called, being so dissociate, and deuided in religion amongst your selues as yow are, except it be the society of Sampsons foxes whose tayles were only tyed together and their heads seuered.

But if yow consider the infinit numbers and multitudes of those that from one end of the world to the other do loue at this day and reuerence the Iesuits (as fathers, that giue them spiritual food as phisitions that cure the diseases of their soules, and as pilots (not pyratts) that guyde them to the port of eternal saluation) you shal easely see the vanity, and idlenes of your discourse, and eyther be forced to graunt that they are no enemyes to humain society, or els absurdly say, that all men besydes your selues are seized with such a lethargy, or sencelesse stupidity that they cannot discerne enemyes from frends.

Can any man that is not mad or drunken with heresy as you seeme to be, or ouercome with passion perswade himself that so many wise pious, and polityk kinges, Princes, counsels, magistrates, and gouernours (whose dominions extending from one pole to the other, do conteyne the noblest, and worthyest parts of humain society among
Chri-

Christians) would be so vnaduised to receyue them into their kingdomes cuntryes, cityes, & courtes, foster them, cherish them, loue, reuerence and honour them as they do, if they were such publike enemyes to humaine societie as you make them, or any way hurtful to their states, perillous to Princes liues, preiudicial to publike good, or rather if they were not most necessary, and beneficial to them all?

This is so manifest to men of discourse and reason that I need not further to enlarge my self therein, seing there is no man so simple that wil preferre the vayne and malicious conceit of a few poor sectary Calvinists hated & contemned by all other sectes of the same breed, before the iudgment and experience of all the rest of Christendome, whereof you are not woorthy to be counted the parings, neyther for your number nor for any other respect whatsoeuer, and albeit I might say much more in this behalf yet for that the matter is euident of it self, and the innocency and honour of these seruants of God hath byn defended by many learned bookes in these our dayes against the barkings of all sectaryes and other their enemyes, and emulatours which their vocation and vertues cannot but purchase vnto them, I shal leaue of to speake any more of this argument for the present, and so passe ouer to that which remaineth.

OF THE

AN APOLOGIE IN DEFENCE
OF THE HIPOCRISY OF
*the author of the Pamphlet and his fellows, and of
a ridiculous miracle fayned in her Maiesties
supposed escape.*

• C H A P. XXV.

IT resteth now only to speak a word or two of the religious zeale, and deuotion towards God, which you shew in your gloses wherein you interlace not only examples of scripture, but also cōsiderations of Gods extraordinary and visible prouidence in the preservation of her Maiestie from this great conspiracy, for the manifestation of his owne glory, in so much that you make it miraculous comparing her Maiesties supposed escape to the shaking of the viper from S. Paules hand without hurt, but in such ridiculous manner, as in truth it made me and others good sport when I red it, for though I haue heard many fond comparisons, and similitudes of ydle braynes in my dayes, yet neuer heard I such an other as this is, and that in print.

A ridiculous
comparison.

You say thus, & they are your owne wordes as they ly in the book, that as the viper was vpon S. Paules hand and shaken of without hurt, so this was donne in Iuly, in the heate of the yeare, when the pores and veynes were openest, to receyue any maligne vapour, or tincture if her Maiestie by any accident had layd her hand vpon the place.

Of which wordes there can be no other sense gathered (in my opinion) then this that as S. Paule being bitten with the viper shaken her from his hand, and had no hurt, so if by chaunce her Maiestie had layed her hand vpon the poysoned pomel of the Sadle in the moneth of Iuly when the pores and veynes are open she might haue byn poysoned or receaue maligne vapors or tinctures. But good Syr
yow

yow might haue done wel to haue put this cōceit in ryme: for so it would haue beene at least ryme without reason, wheras now it is neyther ryme nor reason, yet if yow had said that her Ma^{tie} had tought the poysoned place, as yow signify the contrary (which marres the fashion both of your comparison, and of your miracle) there had beene some more similitude, and matter miraculous, but as yow haue handled it there is neyther miracle nor meaning, so farre as my reason reacheth, and consequently this very first miracle that euer yow had for confirmation of your Gospel in England is miscaried for lack of good handling. But to leaue this to the laughter of all wyse men, I wil proceed to some other considerations.

Who is he that seing somuch mētion in your discourse of God, of his mercy, of his prouidence ordinary, and extraordinary, and of his more then natural influence to the preseruatiō of her Ma^{tie} would not think yow to be a very religious and deuout man, or could imagin that yow knew in your conscience, that all this matter of Squyre was a fiction, as it is euident yow did? wherof I need to bring no better proof then those two notable lyes before mentioned, which yow take vpon your owne conscience, though not only your self, but also many hundreths that were at Squyres death know the contrary; wherby it appeareth that all your shew of religion deuotion and zeale rendeth to nothing els, but to set a glos vpon this your counterfeit ware, to make it the more salable amongst the common people; which exceedeth all impiety.

For what can be so execrable, or sacriligious, as to abuse the sacred name of almighty God, the holy scriptures, and shew of deuotion and religion to such a mischeuous end, as to slander and calumniate, which any man that belieueth there is a God would tremble to do. But such is the custome of yow, and your companions to make a maske and visard of religion to couer therewith your impious, and irreligious practises, perswading your selues, that
O although

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although some of the wisest may discouer your treacherie, yet yow shal cary away many of the multitude, which is the fruit yow expect of this and such other your infamous, and slaunderous libels, forgetting that of Cicero *nullum simulatum diuturnum*, no fayned, or dissembled thing can long continue, wherof our Sauour warneth vs sufficiently, saying, beware of the leuen of hipocrites; nothing is secret, that shal not be reuealed, nothing is hid that shal not be knowne, for those things which yow haue said in the dark shal be spoken in the light, and that which yow haue spokē priuily in your chamber shalbe preached in the house tops.

So that yow Sr libeller, and your fellowes cannot look to delude the world alwayes as yow haue donne many yeares but that sooner or later God wil open the peoples eyes, and discouer vnto them your hipocrisy and disguised impiety, yea and perhaps make them his instruments to reuenge his cause, and their owne vpon yow, wherein may bee fulfilled, that which Iobe saith of the hipocrite, *the heauens shal reueale his iniquitie, and the earth shal ryse against him.*

Wel Sir, though much more matter woorthy to bee treated do offer it self vnto mee at this present, by occasion of this your libel, yet not to ouerlode yow at once, nor to weery the reader, this shal suffice for answer therevnto: only I wil aduertise yow of one thing, that although yow dissemble your name (fearing belike that the notable vnto truth auowed by yow might turne to your shame if yow should be knowne) yet I am not ignorant who yow are, and haue forborne to ~~name~~ yow, only to requite your curtesy in sparing to name mee in your said libel, which at the bar other your fellow barristers did not forbear to do, so that beeing now euery way out of your debt, as I take it, I take my leaue of yow, wishing yow as much grace as to my self.

THE CONCLVSION TO the Lords of the Councel.

CHAP. XXVI.

MY very good Lords, although it is a cōmon saying, and commonly true, *that obsequium amicos, veritas odiū parit*, flattery gets friends, & truth hatred, in which respect I might wel feare that the playnesse which I haue vsed in this discours might be offēsiue to your Lordships, yet framing in my self a farre other conceit, of your wisdomes, & iudgements then of the common sort of men (whose eares do itch rather after vanity, then verity, after pleasure rather then profit) I persuaue my self that your Lordships are such friends and patrons of truth, that yow cannot mislike to heare it, when it is deliuered vpon so just an occasion, as the defence of honour and innocency, & to so good an end as a publyk benefit, and therefore I hope that when your Lordships shal haue wel wayed the particulars represented heere to your consideration, I meane our innocency, the trechery of our aduersaries, the abuse offred therein to her Ma^{ty}. and your honours, the infamy that groweth thereby to your gouernment, the daungers both domestical, & forrayne, the offēce to God in shedding innocent blood, and lastly the punishment due thereto from his iustice, your Lordships wil not only aproue my playnesse accompanied with reason, sincerity & truth, but also employ your wisdomes, charity, and authority, to the reparation of our wrongs, and releef of our miseries, whereof I say, I cannot but haue exceeding great hope, when I consider the great zeale your honours haue shewed to the mayntenance of iustice, in the punishment of such as yow haue vnderstood to haue abused your cōmissions towards Catholykes, in farre lesse matters then this which I haue touched in this Apology, whereof I haue knowen, and
O 2 heard

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heard of diuers examples, as wel before I came out of England, as since, whereby it is euident, that these other extreame iniuries that our aduersaries dayly do vnto vs, proceed meerly of their owne malice, and no way of your Lordships wil, commission, or consent, and that for the remedy, there wanteth nothing, but that your honours may haue notice thereof, which I haue therefore presumed to geue yow in this Apology by the occasion of this my purgation, which I present vnto yow in all humility, beseeching your Lordships, for conclusion of this treatise, to consider from what root all these foule vnchristian practises of our aduersaries do spring, as that they are nothing els but the fruit of heresy, which hath no other period where to rest, but atheisme, or apostacy from Christ, as euidently appeareth by all the east parts of the world, which from lyke schisme, and heresy, are falne to flat infidelity; which if it please your Lordships wel to weigh, and the true remedy withall, which Machiauel, (though in other things he be most absurd and impious) yet wysely teacheth in this case, to wit, to reduce a corrupted state of common wealth, to the point frō whence it first declined, I hope your honours wil see the necessity of the reduction of our realme to the ancient Catholyke religion, and to the vnity of the Catholyke body of Christendome, whereof it was many hundred yeares togeather a principal meber, in all honour, and security, flourishing in iustice, equity, and piety, whereas now by this disunion, and diuorce, from the said Catholyke body, and religion, it is not only exposed to many daungers, and much ~~injury~~ ^{injury}, but is also replenished with iniustice and impiety, as appeareth by the ordinary, & dayly proceedings of our aduersaries against vs, declared sufficiently in this Apology, which I leaue to your honours wyse consideration, humbly beseeching almighty God to illuminat your Lordships, and her Mayesty also in this behaulf, which if it shal please his deuine Ma^{tie} to do, and with so great a grace, and blessing, as is the light of his Catholyke

tholyke fayth, to consummate and perfect those other rare gifts that he hath already bestowed vpon her Ma^{tie}. (I meane her many princely partes, her power by sea, & land, her peace at home, her prosperity abroad, her long lyfe and raygne) shee wilbe one of the most fortunat, famous, & glorious Princes, that England or Christiandome hath had in many ages, and a molt rare example of Gods inspeakable mercy to the endles comfort of all true Christians. From Madrid, the last of August. 1599.

Your Lordships humble seruant
T. F.



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Such fevv faultes as may haue escaped
in the printing , it may please the
courteous reader to pardon.



